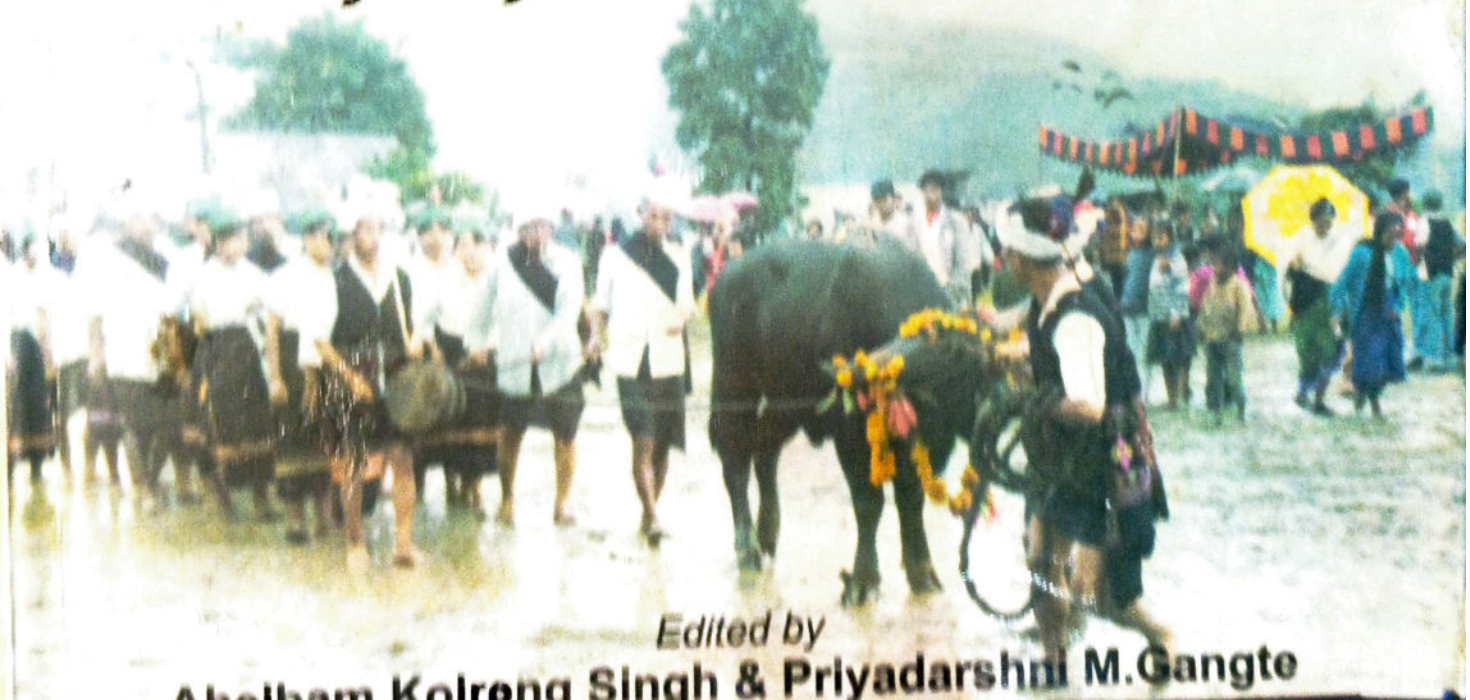
UNDERSTANDING KUKI

Since Primordial Times

Essays by Late Dr. T.S. Gangte



Edited by

Aheibam Kolreng Singh & Priyadarshni M.Gangte

About The Book

Tribes belonging to the Chin-Kuki-Mizo who are also otherwise called Zomi have close socio-cultural affinity in their culture, traditions, language, custom, and traditional administrative system. They are one and the same people who were collectively called 'Kuki' in India and 'Chin' in Burma (present Myanmar). Kuki is one of the native ethnic communities in Manipur having its glorious past and rich cultural heritage. In the colonial past, the Kukis in Manipur in opposition of sending them as Labour corps in France during the World War I have fought gallantly against the British rule. With the advent of Indian independence and implementation of Indian constitution, the Kuki identity undergoes a process of miniaturisation into various smaller intermediary identities and many of the erstwhile Kuki tribes have accepted Naga identity. While an acceptable nomenclature for the Chin-Kuki-Mizo (CHIKIM) group is still eluding, fragmentation is further being heightened because of inherent idiosyncrasies on the basis of the hierarchical order of genealogy and other endogenous factors as well in addition to the activities of the armed outfits. In the last decade of the twentieth century, Kukis have faced various hardship and atrocities in the process of evicting them from their habitual residence for the realization of aspired homeland by the NSCN (IM) led Nagas. It also had miniaturised the Kuki identity further as some tribes belonging to the CHIKIM group, either our of fear or at their own volition has denounced the Kuki identity. The present volume gives a glimpse of the long evolutionay process the Kukis underwent since the primordial times to the present situation.

ISBN: 978-81-8116-052-2

UNDERSTANDING KUKI SINCE PRIMORDIAL TIMES

Essays by late Dr. T. S. Gangte

UNDERSTANDING KUKI SINCE PRIMORDIAL TIMES

Essays by late Dr. T. S. Gangte

Edited by
Aheibam Koireng Singh &
Priyadarshni M. Gangte

MAXFORD

MAXFORD BOOKS

New Delhi-110 002

Understanding Kuki Since Primordial Times

© Author

First Edition 2010

ISBN 978-81-8116-052-2

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by means, electronic, mechanical, photo copying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Published by:
MAXFORD BOOKS
Sales Office: 4264/3, IInd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi - 110 002
Ph.: 011-65156284
Regd. Office: 95, Medha Apartments, Mayur Vihar, Phase-I
Delhi - 110091
Ph.: 011-22743537
E-mail : maxfordbooks@hotmail.com

Printed at: **Suman Printers, Delhi-93**

FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to write a brief foreword to this book by the Late Dr. T S. Gangte being published posthumously. The book brings together several unpublished papers by Dr. Gangte. These papers deal primarily with the history, culture, polity and the current predicament of the people known generally as the Kukis of Manipur. The Kukis have a very special and complex place in the demographic map of Manipur. It is impossible to understand Manipur and its problems without bringing the Kukis with their languages and cultures into the picture of what can only be described as the poignant existential predicament of present day Manipur. Dr. Gangte's book provides a lucid, sensitive and insightful glimpse into life of the Kukis and their interrelationship with the other communities of Manipur. I have no doubt that the book will prove useful to researchers, students and all others who may be interested in understanding the turmoil not just in Manipur but in the North-East as a whole. Editors of the book deserve much credit for their work.

Mrinal Miri
Former Vice Chancellor
NorthEastern Hills University

Chairman
Forum of Vice Chancellors
of
Central Universities of North East India

PREFACE

Tribes belonging to the Chin-Kuki-Mizo have close socio-cultural affinity in terms of their culture, traditions, language, custom, and traditional administrative system. They are one and the same people who were collectively called 'Kuki' in India and 'Chin' in Burma (present Myanmar). Kuki is one of the native ethnic communities in Manipur having its glorious past and rich cultural heritage. In the colonial past, the Kukis in Manipur in opposition of sending the Kukis as Labour Corps in France during the World War I have fought gallantly against the British rule. With the advent of Indian independence and implementation of Indian constitution, the Kuki identity undergoes a process of miniaturisation into various smaller intermediary identities and many of the erstwhile Kuki tribes have accepted the Naga identity. While an acceptable nomenclature for the Chin-Kuki-Mizo (CHIKIM) group is still eluding, fragmentation is further being heightened because of inherent idiosyncrasies on the basis of the hierarchical order of genealogy and other endogenous factors as well in addition to the activities of the armed outfits. In the last decade of the twentieth century, Kukis have faced various hardship and atrocities in the process of evicting them from their habitual residence for the realization of aspired homeland of the NSCN (IM) led Nagas. It also had miniaturised the Kuki identity further as some tribes belonging to the CHIKIM group, either out of fear or at their own volition had denounced the Kuki identity. This present volume gives a glimpse of the long evolutionary process the Kukis underwent since the primordial times to the present situation. Late Dr.TS Gangte, a trained sociologist who was among the few intellectual luminaries of the Kuki community, writes the entire chapters in the volume. His earlier publication, "The Kukis of Manipur" was well received for its illuminating insights and rich source material. Apart

from his academic accomplishments and administrative experience, the social commitment and obligations he had shown towards his society makes him the fit person to write on the subject matter. Dr. TS Gangte had left behind many unpublished manuscripts. The chapters in the present volume are selected from among those. His writings are forthrightly frank and spontaneous to the risk of sounding provocative. We in fact have many reservations in some parts but after consideration we stand that censoring it to just sound politically correct will be a great injustice to him. In Dr. Gangte's demise we have lost a person who epitomizes to us a friend, philosopher and guide. He really would have loved to see this book in print with a more fine-tuning and perfection but it's gods will that kept us apart from him. We sincerely pray for his well being in the heavenly abode. We as mere mortals extend our gratefulness to him by publishing his articles in book form which he could not achieve during his life time.

In the first chapter titled, *Facts and Fables of The Kukis of Manipur*, Dr. TS Gangte started with a premise that the Kukis living in Nagaland, Assam, Tripura and Manipur have closer cultural, traditional and ethnic affinity with the people of Mizoram, Chittagong Hills of Bangladesh and the Chins of Chin-Hills of Burma, rather than with their 'immediate neighbours' and that they aspire to live under a single political unit. While dwelling on the origin and migration of the Kuki he went on to say that Kukis of Manipur came at different periods of history starting from the pre-historic days. Thus, even though they belonged to the same ethnic group, time-gap in the waves of migration between different groups contributed greatly to their present wide-range of divergence and multiplicity. He concluded with an optimistic note that the independence of India brought a sea-change among the Kukis as they have become more politically conscious and socially sensitive and simultaneously the people of Manipur, the Meitei, the Muslims, the Nagas and the Kukis live peacefully as brethren to lift up the banner of Manipur ever higher.

The second chapter titled, *Indawi: Primeval Religion of Thadou Kukis*, at the very outset started by recalling the views of eminent scholars on 'primeval religion' who had contributed to the growth and development of knowledge on the subject matter. In it while

narrating a mythical story which is tied with the origin of 'Indawi Deity', and the elaborate ritual performance and formalities for worshipping it, he stated that 'Indawi' rites are individualistic in nature as it is not done on community basis. He concluded by drawing parallels with the 'Sanamahi' deity of the Meiteis of Manipur as according to him every family that worships 'Indawi' should have one 'Indawi' deity.

Magico-Religious Beliefs and Practices among Migrant Kuki Tribes, which constituted the third chapter, has been premised on the two aspects on the life of Kukis, that is, to project as to whether the Kukis are migrant tribes and the other is on the subject matter. It asserted that theories that have been advanced in connection with the genesis of Kukis are highly subjective and conjectural in the absence of any written corroboration of existence of historical evidence to support them. It seems to suggest that the Kukis are said to be migratory as the British found them in scattered when they came here in the eighteenth century and the British Officers started keeping records of the various clans or groups of Kukis at different places wherever they were found to have settled. While dealing with the subject matter, it stated that the monotheist Kukis, in olden days, were happy with one God who had no anthropomorphic form to appear before the people, demanding any special worship or offerings. But a few minor mischievous spirits have already occupied their vast supernatural Pantheon and it is they, in many cases, who demand rituals along with other formalities, like offerings and sacrifices. This colourful display of the rituals, through ceremonies, has cut across the familian cult and his covered, rather involved, other people (or such specific purposes to reinforce the group solidarity through bindings and obligations. It is quite discernable that the less affluence, leisure and free time of the people and their movement from one place to another, have practically set time people with limited world view and thus they have capsulised their group identities, it further stated. It concluded by stating that, slowly and inevitably, the force of conversion to Christianity proselytised the society drastically, though some have retained magico-religious beliefs and practices through their rituals and ceremonies.

The fourth chapter titled, *Structure of Thadou Society*, gives a narrative that the term Thadou is the name of eponymous ancestor of

descendants of Thadou who claimed to be descended from legendary progenitor called Chongthu, and that the controversies that almost wrecked the foundation of relationship between cousins among Thadous stemmed from strict enforcement of stringent principle of social structure based on respect and annual tribute paid to the senior lineal descent head being determined by regular male line of descent belonging to a single genealogical tree. Citing colonial accounts he articulated that their culture and tradition that bound the Kukis together gave them strength to fight against the British and that only when the Thadous are united the Kukis as a whole could do great things together in their contemporary socio-political scenario.

Sawm: A Tradition of Non-Formal Education among the Kukis gives a narrative of the institution of Sawm, which according to DR. TS Gangte, the existence of this institution is imperative and crucial that the youth, the 'marginal man', has to be shaped and brought up into responsible adult member of the society. With the dawn of Western education where formal education takes its hold, importance of non-formal education through 'Sawm' membership has become less important though the institution as such continues to exist, he concluded.

In the sixth chapter, *Trial of the Kuki Chiefs*, Dr. TS Gangte recalled the trial of ten Kuki Chiefs from Manipur along with three individuals in the persons of Ngulkhokhai of Chahsaad, Enjakhup of Thenjol village of Naga Hills and one Chinga Khamba Sana Chaoba Singh of Kumbi village under Section 16 of Chin Hills Regulation III of 1818 after the military Operations against the Kuki Chiefs under General Sir Henry Keary were officially closed on 20th May, 1919. In this landmark incident that is otherwise known as "Anglo-Kuki', which arose in opposition of sending the Kukis as Labour Corps in France during the World War I. Citing Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam province it stated that "the British Columns marched through hostile country overcoming opposition and destroying many enemy villages and property, but they had killed or captured very few of the enemy and no Chiefs of importance, while casualties on the part of the British were on the whole heavier than the enemy's."

The seventh chapter titled, *Chieftainship and Land Holding System in Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland* started with the premises

that 'Chieftainship', shall be understood within the parameter of 'Tribal Kuki and Mizo' societies where the Institution of 'Chieftainship' reigns solely supreme with absolutism and that the same shall hold true when dealt with 'land use system' under the shifting or Jhumming cultivation. It highlights the traditional Institution of Chieftainship and the manner in which land is used under it and the direct confrontation with the institution of chieftainship by the proletariats which gave birth to the nomenclature, Mizo, in place of Lushai and controversy over the 'Kuki' terminology, resulting in emergence of new nomenclatures and division of cohesive village communities into heterogeneous ethnic groups right from the village level to the highest, every imaginable group aspiring for separate and multifarious identities.

The eighth chapter titled, *British Policy towards Kukis* premises that the British Policy towards the Kukis has to be understood in the larger context of their policy towards the North-East India and Burma, it is also to be understood that the British policy towards the Kukis was related to their policy on North-East India and Burma, and the Anglo-Manipuri relationship had a direct bearing towards the Anglo-Kuki relationship. It articulated that the policy of the British towards the Kukis was one of gross inconsistency all through.

The ninth chapter titled, *Land Problem and Ethnic Tension in Northeast India with Special Reference to Manipur* at the very outset asserted that land problem is one that should inevitably occupy forefront issue of the people and the Government for solution. Among other thing it argue for the formation of a Committee of land enquiry Commission consisting of an equal number of Kukis and Nagas to be presided over by an impartial Government official to settle the land problems between the Kukis and the Nagas in Manipur hills amicably which is still not forthcoming from the part of the governance. It also highlights the onslaught against the Kukis allegedly by the NSCN (IM), which all started with the problem of land ownership and the refusal by the Kukis to pay land related taxes.

The tenth chapter entitled, *Role and Place of Indigenous Kukis in Upholding National Unity of Manipur,* he recalled briefly the historic past events of Manipur wherein the Kukis were active participants, their role and place were made crystal clear in regard to

upholding of the integration of Manipur. He conspicuously stated that the Kukis have all through the history of Manipur been the sole guardians to uphold integration of Manipur. He concluded with a note of optimism that the Kukis shall continue to shoulder their responsibility of safeguarding the territorial integration of Manipur notwithstanding what may say about them?

The eleventh article titled, *Problems of Identity Crisis among Tribals of Manipur* contended that the crises of ethnic identity or the division of identity among the tribals in Manipur is a recent phenomenon and is the outcome of recognition of different clans of 'Kuki' tribes as separate Scheduled Tribes. The identity crises would not have erupted and the 'Kukis' would have remained united like that of the Nagas if the smaller tribes belonging to the Chin-Kuki-Mizo groups had not been listed as separate tribe and given the constitutional benefits, he further added. In the conclusion it strongly puts forward the inevitability of initiating in-depth study of the culture, customs and linguistic commonness of the Kuki tribes to make proper modifications in the lists of Scheduled tribes in the interest of the country as a whole to arrest the fissiparous tendencies resulting from the discontentment to receive the recognition of ethnic identity.

Ethnicity and Identity Management in Manipur, which constitutes the twelfth chapter of the present volume, highlights that ethnic tribal Nagas are united under the blanket term 'Naga' identity, accepting whatever tribal ethnic appellation being given as individual or group identity in the scheduled list whereas the Kukis are engrossed with the problem of finding a common identity, being in the doldrums to accept the term 'Kuki' as such. It articulated that among the Kukis, the much-required expression of social solidarity by being identified 'Kuki' became redundant with the needed security and protection having been provided by the Constitution of India. The total sum result was that while recognised tribes wanted to maintain their separate identities, other tribes who have not so air been recognised created situations craving for the attention of the Government for according them the status of recognized tribes through organised ethnic activities. As against this, the term Naga has assumed the centripetal force, which unites heterogeneous tribal ethnic groups that converge around the Naga axis,

while at the same time maintaining their separate identity zealously. The term Naga became a prestigious ethnic identity for many small tribes of erstwhile Kukis, such as, the Anals, the Marings, etc. of Manipur in particular and the North-East India in general, it added. It further stated that non-conformity of the conservative Kuki tribes to social change resulting in conflict, tension, disunity, etc., is heightened by the arbitrary and haphazard categorization of tribes by the Government of India.

The thirteenth chapter titled, *Whither Kuki Ethnicity,* while highlighting the impact of the advent of Indian independence and subsequent constitutional measures on the Kuki tried to substantiate by citing empirical fallouts that it was the beginning for the disintegration of the Kukis, which is furthermore splintered by their inherent idiosyncratic and eccentric nature. It further added that among the Kuki the contestation over the nomenclature has turned into a centrifugal force, as against it, the term 'Naga' has become a centripetal Force that brings heterogeneous groups of people into its fold. Drawing parallels with diverse ethnic groups living in the UK as citizens thereof accepting their common ethnicity as British to that of the Naga it asserted that the Kukis need to cultivate similar spirit of Nagas.

Festivity and Significance of Kut, which constitutes the fourteenth chapter at the very outset started with the basic spirit of Kut festival aimed at disseminating the message of peace, friendship, brotherhood, compassion, forgiveness, etc., not only among the Chin-Kuki-Mizo people but also to mankind, it exhorted that the bounden duty of every Chin-Kuki-Mizo (CHIKIM) is to promote peace, unity and harmony through the spirit of Kut. It ended with a note of affirmation that the significance and benefit of Kut festival should reach the entire people of the region as a model move towards harmony and peace for humanity as a whole.

The fifteenth chapter titled, *Thirteenth September Black Day-Reminiscence of flagrant Violation of Human Rights* recalled one of the worst manifestation during the turbulent times of the Kuki-Naga clashes claiming 103 civilian lives on that single day which the Kukis still observed as 'Black Day'.

The sixteenth chapter titled, *Safeguarding of Identity and*

Territorial Integrity of Manipur asserted that creation of Nagaland and Mizoram out of the erstwhile 'Lushai Hills' District and 'Naga Hills' District of Assam on the basis of Shillong Accord and Mizo Accord led to the demand for integration of contiguous Naga and Kuki area to Nagaland and Mizoram respectively and such demand is vehemently being opposed by the people of Manipur. It concluded with by cautioning that the superfluous claim on the surface that the territorial integrity of Manipur is being assured which is classic of the politicians needs to be watched with vigil.

Many people have helped in realizing that this book comes to see the light of the day. Prof. Mrinal Miri, Former Vice Chancellor of North Eastern Hills University, Shillong and Chairman, Forum of Vice Chancellors of North East India readily comes forward to write the foreword after reading the prepared manuscript. We, therefore, take this opportunity to offer our profound sense of gratitude to him. We are also thankful to Mr. Shokholoun Touthang and Mr. N. Nobinchandra for typesetting the manuscript with due care at the least possible time. Thanks are also due to Dr. T.S. Gangte Memorial Trust for the all out support by standing solidly behind us in the endeavor of bringing out this publication. We also would like to express our gratefulness to all those whose names does not figure here but nonetheless extended their enthusiastic cooperation and contributed significantly in bringing out this volume in one way or the other. We are thankful to all of them.

We hope the brief glimpse of contents in the present volume will attract the curiosity and attention of the readers and will subsequently find it insightful and stimulating. With this cursory glance, it is now placed before the readers to meticulously engage with it.

A Brief Life Sketch of Dr. T. S. Gangte

Thangkhomang Selpho Gangte, alias Mangcha, better known as Dr. T.S. Gangte, was born on 30th November, 1932 to Pu Lalkho Gangte and Pi Thangkhoneng Gangte, an educated family of the Gangte tribe of Manipur which was one of the families in Manipur to have received western education foremost. He was the third but one of the ten children. He had his early schooling i.e. upto Class VI at M. E. School in Ukhrul before and after the World War II. He had completed his matriculation at Johnstone High School, Imphal in 1954; Graduated from St. Anthony College, Shillong in 1959; obtained his M.A. (Sociology) degree in 1963 from Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi. While serving the backward tribal people of Manipur he did his research work and was awarded Doctor of Philosophy Degree (1990) from Anthropology Department, Calcutta University, West Bengal. Married to Lhingjaneng Sitlhou and Tingneihoih alias Priyadarshni Maisnam was blessed with four children - two daughters and two sons.

He was the founder Chairman of Council of Higher Secondary Education, Manipur, Director of Education (University & Hr. Education),

Chairman of Board of Secondary Education, Manipur, founder Principal, Churachandpur College, Churachandpur, the first college located in the tribal areas of Manipur for a long period of twenty-two years and also had been the Headmaster of Gandhi Memorial High School, Molnom, Churachandpur. He retired from his service in 1996. Dr. Gangte pioneered promotion of higher education in Manipur more specifically among the tribals in the hill areas of the State.

Dr. Gangte was a Fulbright scholar and as an alumnus thereof since 1985 for the study of Higher Education System in the states/ America where he travelled extensively in Los Angeles, New Mexico, Orlando, New Carolina, South Carolina, Louisville, Washington and New York. He also widely travelled for attending international academic conferences in Mexico City, U.S.A., London, Frankfurt in 1982, represented India at the World Conference for peace at Copenhagen, Moscow and Athens in 1986 and 2000, and went to London, Paris and Madrid in 1990 to attend World Congress of Sociology.

He contributed several papers at International, National and State level seminars. He has to his credit several authored and co-authored accredited well acclaimed books among which "The Kukis of Manipur" and "Nehru and North East India" can be mentioned. He has left behind number of unpublished manuscripts including Anglo-Kuki Relations from 1849-1937. Moreover, he had published articles in reputed academic journals and presented papers at various for a in the State, national and international level.

Various other responsible and administrative positions he held during his life time in addition to the above mentioned are -

1. Member, Imphal Municipality in 1970;
2. Court Member, Gauhati University for 12 years;
3. Member, College Development Council;
4. Member, Council of Higher Secondary Education, Manipur for two terms; and
5. Member, Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, Kolkata.

He was a regular Member of International Sociological Association, Vice-President of (i) Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology, Calcutta, and (ii) United Religious Initiatives.

After his retirement, he joined politics. He was the President

of Manipur Peace Committee. He was also the Vice President of kuki Inpi Manipur (KIM) and General Secretary of Gangte Peoples Convention (GPC). He was the Chairman of (i) the Anglo-Kuki War Patriots Memorial Foundation, Manipur; (ii) The Gangte Literature Society and (iii) The Thadou-Kuki Text Book Committee for Bachelor of Arts (BA) under Manipur University. He was also the advisor to the Committee of Coordination for Peace and Normalcy in Manipur.

He expired on 29th July 2007 (Sunday). Though he dies a sad man we remember all the moments shared with him and believe that he rests in peace in the heavenly abode. He remains an inseparable part of all of us.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ADC	=	Aid De Camp
AMSU	=	All Manipur Students' Union
AMUCO	=	All Manipur United Clubs Organisation
AR	=	Assam Rifles
BA	=	Bachelor of Arts
BC	=	Before Christ
BOSEM	=	Board of Secondary Education Manipur
CC	=	Chief Commisioner
CHIKM	=	Chin Kuki Mizo
CM	=	Chief Minister
ECI	=	Election Commission of India
FGN	=	Federal Government of Nagaland
GoI	=	Government of India
GoM	=	Government of Manipur
GPRN	=	Government of Peoples Republic of Nagaland
ICS	=	Indian Civil Service
INA	=	Indian National Army
MLR & LR	=	Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms
KNA	=	Kuki National Assembly
KNF	=	Kuki National Front
KYKL	=	Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup
LMG	=	Light Machine Gun
MIL	=	Major Indian Languages
MP	=	Member of Parliament
MLA	=	Member Legislative Assembly
NLG	=	Naga Lim Guard
NNC	=	Naga National Council

NPCC	=	Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee
NSCN (I)	=	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isaac)
NSCN (IM)	=	National Socialist Council of Nagaland (Isaac Muivah)
PLA	=	people Liberation Army
P.O.	=	Post Office
PREPAK	=	Peoples Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak
PSS	=	Praja Santi Sabha
SDO	=	Sub Divisional Officer
UDHR	=	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	=	United Kingdom
UNC	=	United Naga Council
UNO	=	United Nations Organisation
UNPO	=	Unrepresented Nations People Organisation
VIP	=	Very Important Person
ZRA	=	Zomi Revolutionary Army

CONTENTS

Foreword		*v*
Preface		*vii*
A Brief Life Sketch of Dr. T. S. Gangte		*xv*
Abbreviations		*xix*
1.	Facts and Fables of the Kukis of Manipur	1
2.	Indawi: Primeval Religion of Thadou Kukis	10
3.	Magico-Religious Beliefs and Practices among migrant Kuki Tribes	24
4.	Structure of Thadou Society	39
5.	Sawm: A Tradition of Non-Formal Education among The Kukis	71
6.	Trial of the Kuki Chiefs	76
7.	Chieftainship and Land Holding System in Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland	107
8.	British Policy towards Kukis	117
9.	Land Problem and Ethnic Tension in Northeast India with Special Reference to Manipur	130
10.	Role and Place of Indigenous Kukis in Upholding National Unity of Manipur	146
11.	Problems of Identity Crisis among Tribals of Manipur	156
12.	Ethnicity and Identity Management in Manipur	169

13. Whither Kuki Ethnicity 190

14. Festivity and Significance of Kut 195

15. Thirteenth September Black Day - Reminiscence of flagrant violation of Human Rights 203

16. Safeguarding Of Identity and Territorial Integrity of Manipur 220

Bibliography 230

Index 241

1

FACTS AND FABLES OF THE KUKIS OF MANIPUR

INTRODUCTION

It is true that the enchanting land known as the North-East Region of India attracted waves of diverse racial groups through ages. It has come to stay as the confluence of the most colourful mosaic of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity[1]

The culture and tradition of the people often overlap the man-made political units of the region. Political loyalty mostly transcends the boundary of each political unit. The Kukis living in Nagaland, Assam, Tripura and Manipur have closer cultural, traditional and ethnic affinity with the people of Mizoram, Chittagong Hills of Bangladesh and the Chins of Chin-Hills of Burma, rather than with their immediate neighbours. They yearn to remain under a single political unit. Sometime ago movements with this end in view were started in Chin Hills of Burma under the leadership of Vumkhahau on the eve of Independence of Burma from the yoke of the British rule and for the unification of Zomi[2] under the banner of Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA) covering the areas now inhabited by the Kukis and the Mizos in Manipur, Assam, Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram, though no much headway could be achieved to this end. However, in the absence of the recognised scheduled tribe of Manipur under the nomenclature Kuki, the people who were erstwhile known collectively as KUKI prefer to be known now as CHIN-KUKI-MIZO the abbreviation of which has been coined

as CHIKIM meaning thereby literally as All Races. His new aspect of development in this regard is the result of search for new identity which prevails all over the North-east of India among various ethnic groups so that they might assert themselves and take part as partners on equal footing in the growth and development of India.

The same holds good with the Nagas. Despite conspicuous nature at the height of diversity in ethnicity, culture, tradition, language, their peculiar emotional upsurge to integrate themselves, burying their hatchet of age-old war of attrition, under the nomenclature of 'Naga' and a language called 'Nagamese', which is pidgin Assamese, is indeed exemplary. This is solely due to the belief in the myth that all the Nagas have a common origin. This encouraged them to demand for a separate State for Nagas which eventually materialized. The Meiteis of the valley of Manipur are not lacking their brethren in the Hills in recent years demanding for the Independence of Manipur being led by various organisations, such as, PLA, PREPAK, etc.

These ethnic groups of Manipur came at different periods of history. Some of them came in the pre-historic days and the others came at different point of time of history. Thus, even though they belong to the same ethnic group, time-gap in the waves of migration between different groups contributed greatly to their present wide-range of divergence and multiplicity.

The Meiteis and the Muslims living in the centrally located valley of Manipur generally use 'Meitei-Lon' as their language. The Naga tribes of Manipur who can be broadly divided into the Tangkhul Naga, the Kabui Naga and the Mao Naga do not have a common language for their benefit through which they can communicate among themselves also identify themselves exclusively different from the others. They have to communicate among themselves in 'Meitei-Lon' alone. Three is no other language for their common use.

In the case of the Kukis, however, despite divisions into many tribes and sub-tribes, they have no language barrier. They are able to communicate in their respective dialects, or use one of the dialects of any tribe depending on the person who uses the dialect.

As for the religion of the State, while the Meiteis, living in the

valley, are predominantly Hindu Vaishnavites, the tribals in the hills are increasingly embracing Christianity.

ORIGIN

The origin of the Kukis (CHIKIM) is shrouded with myths and mythologies. One of such was the traditional accounts that had been handed down through generations in that the Kukis came out of the bowels of the earth or a cave called 'Chinlung' or 'Sinlung' or 'Khul', the location of which was believed by some to be somewhere in China. But others claimed it to be in Tibet.[3]

McCulloch[4] contended that the Kukis were known as 'Khongjai' also in Manipur, and that they:

> ... bring their progenitors from the bowels of the earth, and they relate the manner of their reaching its surface thus; One day their king's brother was hunting hedgehogs, when his dog in pursuit of one, entered a cavern, and he waiting for its return remained at the mouth. After lapse of sometime, the dog not having returned, its master determined to go in and see what had become of it. He did not find the dog, but observing its tracks and following them, he found himself suddenly on the surface of the earth. The scene presented to his view both pleased and astonished him. Returning to his brother, he related about his adventure, and counseled him to annex the new country to his territory, which the king did.

Likewise, Shaw[5] & Hutton[6] gave slightly different versions though they all pointed to the same story that the Kukis came from the bowel of the earth, called as, Chinlung, or Shinlung, or Khul, etc. The story is obviously suggestive of a separate racial origin for these groups of people.

MIGRATION

It was generally believed that the Kukis came out of China during the reign of Chinese Emperor Chinglung or Chie'nlung, around 200 BC. Zawla[7], a Mizo historian, claimed that the Kukis came out of

the Great Wall of China in about 225 BC, during the reign of Shih Hungti whose cruelty was then at its height. A number of other theories have been advanced in this connection. But in the absence of any written corroboration of existence of historical evidence to support them, such hypothetical theories re considered as highly subjective and conjectural. These are, therefore, taken with a pinch of salt. They remained only as legends.

Nevertheless, Enriquez[8] was emphatic in his claim in that he thought he had ample scientific data at his command to prove that Mongolian races, who now occupy South-East Asia, and also the North-East India, originated from the Western China lying between the sources of the Yangtze and the Hwang-Ho rivers, and migrated in three waves as follows:

1. The Non-Khmer (Talaing, Pa Lung, En Riang, Wa, Pale, Khais and Annimite) which included Khasis ;
2. The Tibeto-Burman comprising Pyu-Burmese-Kachin, Kuki-Chin and Lolo;
3. The Tai-Chinese which included Shan, Siamese and Karen.

The route-chart of the Mon-Khmer group was that they followed the Mekong valley towards south into Campuchea and Thailand until they reached Burma wherefrom some of them went further westward upto Bay of Bengal and then turned towards north. It is believed that the Khasis are the remnants of the Mon-Khmer group.

The Tibeto-Burman group initially moved towards the west and thereafter sub-divided themselves into several groups. They followed different routes, one group reaching Tibet on the north where some of them stayed behind, while others moved on northwards until they reached Burma in three waves. These people were the Kuki-Chin and the Pyu-Burmese-Kachin groups. While the latter stuck to this place, the Kuki-Chin group moved further towards south-west following the Irrawady and the Chindwin rivers and continued to do so till they reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal. From here they turned back north and eventually fanned out along the mountains down the whole length and breadth of the hilly region on either side of the existing Indo-Burma

boundary lines. Thus when the British came here in the eighteenth century, they found the groups scattered about, and the British Officers started keeping records of the various clans or groups of Kukis at different places wherever they were found to have settled.

Hutton (1929)[9] in one of his monographs described the migratory routes of the Kukis in a lucid manner, and was more specific in regard to the scattered settlements of the Kukis:

> For a very long time the Kuki-Chin groups of tribes, pressed from behind Kachins moving southwards from China, and been migrating down the course of the Chindwin River, and some turned back perhaps by the Bay of Bengal, had then moved slowly northwest and northwards again, driving out or incorporating previous inhabitants of what are now parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of (East Pakistan), the Chin Hills of Burma, the Lushai Hills of Assam, parts of the areas of Manipur State, the North Cachar Hills and the south of the Naga Hills.

Lehman[10] observed:

> History shows, however, that both hills and plains peoples (of Manipur) have moved about within the general region of South-west China and South-East Asia over considerable distances for many centuries until the recent past.

Taw Sien Kho, a Burmese lecturer at Cambridge classified the Kukis as Turanean[11] which included the Chinese, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, Turks, etc, and concluded that their habit included the whole of North-Eastern India before the Aryan conquest.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM KUKI

Lieut. Col. Reid[12] said that the term Kuki came into use to denote a particular type of people:

> Previous to the expedition of 1871-72 the wild tribes, which had been in the habit of raiding our North-Eastern Frontier,

> were generally spoken of s 'Kukis', Bengali word meaning hillmen or highlanders. The word was originally applied to the tribe or tribes occupying the tact immediately to the south of Cachar. It is now employed, in a comprehensive sense, to indicate all those living to the west of the Kaladyne River, while those to the west are designated Shendus. On the other hand, to anyone approaching them from the Burma side the Shendus would be known as Chins, ... synonymous with Khyen and pronounced as 'Chin'.

He further propounded that the Chins called themselves as 'Lai'. Considering their distinctive characteristics in dress and dialects, there can be little doubt that the Chins, the Kukis, the Lushais, and the various tribes re practically of one and the same race and were included under the term 'KUKI' since the days of Warren Hastings.

Lalthangliana[13] claimed that the word 'Chin' in Burma was synonymous to the word 'Kuki' and 'Mizo' in India. He further contended that though the reason was not known, the Burmese called the people living in the North-west Burma and the North-East India as 'Chin'. In explaining the reason why the Burmese called the Kukis as Chins he inferred:

> Perhaps they were always found carrying on their backs bamboo baskets called 'Chin' by the Burmese. But this particular Burmese word also means friendship and by a stress of imagination one could say that once there two people live very closely together. Since there were relations not pertaining strictly to friendliness, I think the explanation "Man with the basket" is most reasonable.

Captain Lewin[14] said:

> the Kukis were 'men who live far in the interior parts of the hills, and have not the use of fire arms, and whose bodies go unclothed' and were known to the Bengalees by the name of Kookie and the Burmese as the Lakhe.

Col. Dalton[15] described them as:

> "... a nation of hunters and warriors, rules as a nation by their principal hereditary chiefs or rajahs, but divided into clans, each under its own chiefs".

Soppit[16] while studying the Lushais remarked that

> "the designation of 'Kuki' is never used by the tribes themselves, though many of them answer to it when addressed, from knowing it to be the Bengali or Plains term for their people".

Lt. Col. Shakespear[17] who was one of the authorities on the Kukis, said that

> the term 'Kuki' has come to have a fairly definite meaning, and we now understand by it certain closely allied clans, with well marked characteristics, belonging to the Tibeto-Burman stock.. On the Chittagong border, the term is loosely applied to most of the inhabitants of the interior hills beyond the Chittagong Hill Tracts; in Cachar it generally means some family of Thado or Khawtlang clan, locally distinguished as new Kuki and old Kuki. Now-a-days, the term is hardly ever employed, having been superseded by Lushai, in the Chin Hills and generally on the Burma border all these clans are called Chins... that these Kukis are also closely allied to the 'Chukmas', and that the Lushais are more closely allied to the Chiru, Kom, Khawtlang families and are also related to their eastern neighbours who are known as Chins.

He concluded, "Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the Kukis, Chins and Lushais re all of the same race. Likewise, while dealing with the Chin Tribes of Burma Carey and Tuck[18] said,

> Without pretending to speak with authorities on the subjects, we think we may reasonably accept the theory that the

> Kukis of Manipur, the Lushais of Bengal and Assam, and the Chins, originally lived in what is now known as Tibet and are of one and the collection, manners and customs, beliefs and traditions, all point to one origin.

Shaw[19] a Civil Servant, whose work on the Thadou Kukis provoked a lot of controversy which led to the disintegration of the Kukis in modern days stated:

> The Koms, Aimols, Khawtlangs, Thadous, Lushais, Chins, Pois, Suktes, Paites, Gangtes, etc., are undoubtedly all connected and are Kukis, and that the language alone has many similarities and the syntax is not dissimilar. Again, there are their customs, which have common principle running through them all.

With the advent of Indian Independence, however, the situation has taken a sea-change among the Kukis and nobody can differentiate for sure between a Kuki and a Manipuri. These people have now become more politically conscious and socially sensitive. And yet, the people of Manipur, the Meitei Vaishnavites, the Muslims, the Nagas and the Kukis live peacefully as brethren to lift up the banner of Manipur ever higher.

Notes and References

1 Government of Assam, *The Seven Sisters*, Gauhati, 1976, P.30

2 Gougin, T., *History of Zomi*, Churachandpur, Manipur, 1981, P. 180

3 Ginzatuang, J., *History of the Zomi Family*, Tiddim, Burma, 1973, P.5.

4 McCulloch, Maj. M., *Account of the Valley of Manipur*, New Delhi, 1959, P.24.

5 Shaw, William, *The Thadou Kukis*, Government of Assam, Shillong, 1929.

6 *Ibid., 1929*, P. 14.

7 Zawla, K.,Mizo Pi Pute Leh Anthlahte Chanchin (History of the Mizo Forefathers and their descendants, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1976, P.2

8 Enriques, C. M., *A Burmese Arcade*, London, 1932,

9 *N.5.*

10 Lehman, R. K., *The Structure of Chin Society*, Urbana,1963, P.11.

11 Carey, Bertram S. and Tuck, H.N., *The Chin Hills*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1932, P. 2.

12 Reid, Seorgt., Chin Lushai Land, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1893, P.5.

13 Lalthangliana, B., *History of Mizo in Burma*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1975, P. 69.

14 Lewin, Col. T.H., *Wild Races of North-Eastern India*, New Delhi, 1970, P.130.

15 Dalton, E. T., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, New Delhi, 1872.

16 Soppit, C.A., *Kuki-Lushai Tribe*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1893, P.2.

17 Shakespear, Col. J., *The Lushai Kuki Clan*, Londonk, 1912, P.17.

18 *N.11.*, P.2.

19 *N.5.*, P. 16.

2

INDAWI: PRIMEVAL RELIGION OF THADOU KUKIS

BACKGROUND

When we speak about 'Primeval religion', it is incumbent that we recall some eminent scholars who had contributed to the growth and development of knowledge on the subject matter.

Comte who was associated with positivism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century commanded a great deal of influence in anthropological theories. He held the view that religion was a way of thinking characteristic of the earliest phase of human development. And Sir James Frazer asserted that "Life of the savage is saturated with primitive religions" and Levy-Bruhl declared that "the reality in which primitive peoples move is itself mystic".

But in religious superstition it was considered incompatible with positivist and evolutionary dogmas that primitive peoples should have 'monotheistic religions' or even the conception of God. Thus, Sir Edward Tylor, a leading anthropologist in England in the later half of nineteenth century said that the idea of God was a late conception in human history, the product of a long development of animistic thought, and this was so much taken for granted that no one could listen when Andrew Lang, and after him Wilhelm Schmidt pointed out that most primitive peoples in the world were against such conclusion.

According to Taylor, religion began when man tried to account rationally for such phenomena as death, sleep and dreams by supposing

that there was a soul detachable from the body, that having hit on this idea primitive man proceeded to endow animals and plants, and even inanimate objects with souls and that this eventually led to belief in powerful beings imbued with the same quality- gods, spirits and demons. Then came the others, including Max Muller who attributed conception of 'religion' as mere 'psychological' approach. Strong opposition to this psychological explanation of religion came from Emile Durkheim and his colleagues and pupils of the 'annee sociologique'.

In their view, religious facts, whatever else they may be, are social facts and cannot, therefore, be explained only in terms of individual psychology. Religion is not an individual matter. It is a social phenomenon, something general, traditional and obligatory. It aims at discovering in what way religious conceptions and practices are interconnected and in what religious facts are bound up with other kinds of social facts. For Durkheim and his school, generalizations about 'religion' are discreditable. Durkheim did not try to explain religion as a universal phenomenon but only to understand certain characteristic forms it takes in certain primitive societies.

THADOU RELIGION

To the 'Thadous'[1], their world was full of play and counter-play of mystic powers which supposedly influenced the shape and destiny of man. It is true that they are confronted with problems. When they failed to grapple with them, they try to attribute the cause of these problems to some unknown and unseen forces. These mysterious powers are generally known as supenaturals.

As Sir Edward Tylor[2] asserted, the Thadous from time immemorial had traditional method of controlling supernatural powers or to subordinate them through certain actions or accultism or esoteric practices, rites, rituals and ceremonies or celebrations in accompaniment with offerings, prayers or sacrifices so as to appease, placate or propitiate in order to enjoy a trouble-free life, having no anxiety or tensions. This, in course of time, gradually take the shape of an institutionalized system of beliefs, rituals, rules, procedures, etc., through cults or systematized celebrated rituals or manifestations. With the passage of time, these are handed down from generation to generation and are entrenched

into the thickly woven fabrics of culture.

Durkheim[3], therefore, called the conception of 'religion' as having grown out of the social experiences of man, and so said Herskovitch[4] that rituals and ceremonies are the pivots round which some thoughts about supernaturals rotate. And so were myths, lores or some incantations, etc., in existence, woven in esoteric words which express gratitude and promises for future, vis-à-vis, prayer for protection among the Thadous. These were chanted by the priest called 'thiempu' in his own broken doggerel language known as 'Phuisam' with magic words called 'doithu', believed to carry magical potentialities that have tremendous impact on the spirits.

The sacred complex (holy place) is not pronounced in the life of Thadous while dealing with the concept of 'Chung-Pathen', (Supernatural). The idea of a sanctuary is absent among them. Certain specific rite either fixed traditionally or finalized by the people are conspicuous by their absence. It is done or finalized by the priest called Thiempu. His post is hereditary and practically he has to hold his position by his capabilities and social image. And there are elaborate rituals, sometimes with offerings and sacrifices, as there is no anthropomorphic form of the deity, and only one God is present. Their religion is therefore, based on monotheism, though some evil spirits are named which have specific activities and manifestations.

The 'Thiempu' or priest has to do everything through one irology which he gets during night while sleeping. Through dreams and visions, he gets all directions as to what he should do, when and with what materials or ingredients. What incantations are to be used are also indicated as his guidelines by the spirit who appears in dream to the 'priest' called 'Thiempu'.

The priest is the only professional specialist in the trade among the Thadous in the interpretation of dreams, visions, stars, omens, etc. He is the only individual who has to maintain communion in the form of sorcery or magic with the supernatural elements and the human beings. And some in the profession had acquired so much of knowledge that they can even encounter any spell cast by evil witchcraft. Naturally, therefore, his position in the society is esteemed as the Thiempu who is priest of whatever religious forms or belief they attribute.

Hills, forests and rivers are conceived as having some potentialities and the Thadous have to interact with them all the time for their existence and perpetuation. The beauty of nature is reflected through these natural phenomena. As such, their veneration and respect for them are unquestionable.

Probably, the Thadous, from the hoary past, adapted themselves with the ecology and the environment, and thereby fashioned their life-style. Interactions with varied situations might have weathered or attained the cultural core through their migrations from time immemorial. Series of rolling ridges with disproportionate undulations, forest clad mountains of variable intensities and the gorging rivers might have influenced their cognitive system or cosmology. Seasonal variations and distinctive action patterns for survival strategies have perhaps contributed to the understanding about themselves. The transforming world with some concept of hitherto unseen forces, considered as supernaturals also would be as discernible to them.

I. CHUNG-PATHEN : A CONCEPT

It is the concept of 'Chung-Pathen' or the source of 'all creation' that is considered to be the highest benevolent God who lives in Heaven or Space. Such concept of religion, according to Andrew Lang[5] manifests in the belief in high God. He is believed to have created the universe and all beings living therein. They believed firmly that everything with prosperity, growth and strength in life is nothing but the free gift of 'Chung-Pathen'. He is considered omnipotent and also omniscient. Thus, He is all powerful but He does not want any propitiation, or worship, or appeasement through sacrifices and offerings. He does good to all and sundry.

The concept of 'Chung-Pathen' is abstract and thus has no anthropomorphic form or permanent place of residence. The nomenclature of 'Chung-Pathen' signifies and honourific term used for addressing a male person with respect and veneration.

II. NOIMANG-PA: A DICHOTOMY

Dichotomy prevails while conceptualizing 'Chung-Pathen', the benevolent, from the forces of evil or powers of destruction and all

forms of evil activities who are supposed to live in the subterranean world under a collectivized personal name, 'Noimang-pa', believed to have been sent down by 'Chung-Pathen' from Heaven to dwell as 'Kholmun', where all living beings are found. This indicates that the world of supernaturals dominates the life of Thadous. While all entities connected with evils are susceptible to being appeased or placated through performance of elaborate rituals and sacrifices which constitute prayer or 'Phuisam' by the priest who officiates the ceremony, no such elaborate details of rites, ceremonies, etc., are required for seeking blessings from 'Chung-Pathen' who is constantly . ncerned with the well-being of mankind.

III. INDAWI DEITY

The 'Indawi Deity' has its origin in a story in which a couple lost their daughter. The story goes as follows :

Kimchal Hangsing, while living in a village in the Chin Hills, Myanmar, called Muolphei, where 'Thilhas' (demons) were believed very active and aggressive, had a daughter whose fame for beauty spread far and wide. This beautiful girl was the centre of attraction of many young men, even the 'Thilhas' were interested in her (it was believed that there was time when 'man' and 'Thjilha' could see each other with naked eyes and had limited social contact among themselves provided that 'Thilhas' were not timid or scared of 'man' and that the 'Thilhas' had no ill-design against 'man'). The name of the girl was 'Japhal'. One day 'Japhal' did not return home from Jhum field of the family at a place called 'Sisep'. Frantic search was conducted to trace her out, but in vain. Her parents, out of love and affection for their daughter, and having nothing else to do, cried bitterly in grief. Seeking the condition of the parents of the girl, the 'Thilhas' who stole away the girl revealed themselves in the dream of the girl's father and admitted that his daughter was taken away by them, and said,

"Cry not, and be not worried. We the Muolphei villagers were responsible for the lost of your daughter. We have taken her as the bride of our son. She is living fine with us, and she will not be harmed. Instead of worrying and crying for her, be happy.

In the morning, when you get up from your bed, go out of your house and look at the bushes of the tree called, "Se'. You will find in the bushes of the tree, 'Seboh', some ingredients at the branch of the said tree. Worship the said elements contained therein, so that you might live in happiness, and prosperity will be yours so long as you worship the said elements known as 'Indawi'. This will also serve as a covenant between you and our people".

The night he had the dream, the sound of many Mithuns moving about the floor of the house of the man was reportedly heard by the neighbours (here it is pertinent to note that the floor of the Thadou house is generally raised or elevated from the ground by about five to nine feet, beneath the floor being used for cattle, buffaloes, Mithuns, goats, pigs, etc. rared normally by every Thadou family, might settle at night). The next morning, the man looked up at the bushes of the tree called 'Se' grown nearby his house, and found the said ingredients at the base of the branch of the tree. He took the 'Indawi' and worshipped it. Thereafter, he became rich and he amassed great fortune. His other relatives followed suit and ultimately 'Indawi' worship became main religious deity of the Thadous and their cognate groups.

a) INDAWI INGREDIENTS

Detailed elements of 'Indawi' ingredients as collected by Gangte[6] differ slightly from the ones collected by Shaw[7] and Hutton[8] though contents thereof are the same. They are:

(i) 'Vohpi Lu' (Skull of female pig);

(i) 'Kelki' (horn of he-goat);

(i) 'Khao-Kuol' (7 round bamboo plaited ring);

(ii) 'Um-buh' (7 pieces of small size Gourd of which one is of round type, meant for ZU container while the other is of elongated type meant for SEED container);

(iii) 'Tengdop' (spear);

(iv) 'Chemkol' (Dao) and

(v) 'Belval' (a circular stand to support Jar of ZU), made of plaited bamboo-split. Materials used and designs of

'Belval' differ from clan to clan among the Thadous, except that the ones used by the Singson can are the 'plaited bamboo-split' as originally prescribed by the 'Thilhas'.

These ingredients are bound together with a 'creeper', called, 'Khaopi'. 'Khaokuol' is a ring'like cord made of a kind of bamboo called 'Gopi'. Splits of 'Gopi' bamboo, peeled and thinned (like blade) are called 'Gopi-Nang', and are used for binding together the 'spear' and the 'dao' with 7(seven) rounds on each side in a bangle-shaped knot.

Worship of 'Indawi' is done once in a year compulsorily.But, in some exceptional cases, when illness and other exigencies demand, it can be worshipped as many times as necessary. The above mentioned ingredients bound together are called 'Indawi', a Thadou family 'hou'.

b) INDAWI RITUALS

When 'Indawi' is worshipped, the performer has to kill a female pig. The priest called 'Thiempu' of the village has to officiate propitiation of the 'deity'. He goes early in the morning to the man and does the 'Juphi' propitiation by spraying out a mouthful of 'ZU', rice-beer, in and around the house of the prospective performer of the 'Indawi-rite'. This act is called 'inthenso', cleansing or purification of the entire house and its surrounding complex of the performer. Thereafter, he goes back to his house.

Meantime, the 'tucha' (female relatives including their husbands and children) and the 'becha' (male relatives including their wives and children) of the performer catch a female-pig, earlier earmarked to be sacrificed for the purpose, before the 'Thiempu' returns. The pig is to be scarified at the altar near the portico of the performer of the 'Indawi rituals'. No activity whatsoever in connection with the rites is allowed inside the house during 'Indawi' worship. As the pig is to be sacrificed, the 'Indawi' is taken down by the 'Thiempu' and placed it near the altar where the sacrificial pig is laid. Just before commencement of the sacrificial rituals, a gourd is arranged and the same is broken on the head of the sacrificial animal. This act of propitiation before sacrificing

the pig is called 'Gan-lha-lhai', appeasing the spirit or soul of the pig. This is immediately followed by invocation seeking His blessings.

After this invocation, the priest sacrifices the pig with a spike of sharpened bamboo piece, called 'Gopi-Tul', by piercing it through the left arm-pit, aiming at the heart. The sacrificial animal is positioned in such a way that the head of it is turned towards the place where 'Indawi' is hung which normally runs parallel to the hearth of the household. The performer and his wife who sits on the left side of her husband face the priest and the front of the house. Both the performer and his wife on the one side and the priest on the other sit on their legs without any support.

As the priest pierces the sacrificial pig with the sharp bamboo spike, it dies instantaneously. The blood that stains the bamboo-spike is smeared by the priest on the forehead of the man with his forefinger. The 'tuchas' of the family take charge of the pig for dressing and cooking it for the sacrificial feast that follows the ritual ceremony. During dressing, the left hind-leg is set aside as the share of the priest, and the neck portion up to the point where the head joins with the body is also sliced out for the performer.

Coming back to the initial stage of propitiation, it is to be noted that prior to the invocation by the priest, the performer brings, as he comes to sit in front of the priest, one gourd-cup filled with water and spills over the ground spreading round the sacrificial pig. It is symbolical of significance of family problems, illness, misfortunes, etc., that the performer was supposed to have placed before the 'Indawi' deity for which propitiation is invoked. As the water is spilt over the sacrificial pig, it is believed that all that contains in the gourd-cup has been transmitted from the performer and his family members to the sacrificial pig.

Thereafter, the 'tucha' of the performer comes and smashes the gourd-cup into pieces with his leg, signifying that all the illness and misfortunes of the family have been washed and completely done away with. Likewise, the performer brings a ring of bamboo-split of around three inches in diameter and fitted it to the pointed mouth of the pig. Since the mouth of the pig was thin towards the end, the ring that was

fitted to its mouth became loosened with the slight movement of the pig. It is believed that all misfortunes of the family have been loosed and gone from the family, substituting them with better and brighter future.

c) RITUAL FORMALITIES (TEMPORAL & NON TEMPORAL)

After the sacrificial ceremony, the sacrificial animal is taken care of for dressing it by the 'tucha' relatives of the performer of the ceremony. The 'tuchas' would roast it on the furnace to cleanse it properly, and hand over the same to the 'becha' relatives for cutting and slicing into pieces. In the process certain parts of the animal are set aside as shares for individual relatives of different categories of the performer. Thereafter, the 'bechas' will hand over the portion to be cooked for the ceremonial feast to the 'tuchas'. Different work assignments are distributed to different categories of relatives of the performer as briefly given below:

(1) The 'tucha' relatives have to dress 'intestine' part of the sacrificial animal.

(2) Before the 'bechas' cut the sacrificial meat into pieces, the priest instructs them to set aside the portion of the notch immediately that lies next to the head, but without the neckbone.

(3) There is another portion to be set apart for God. It is the left fore-leg. The portion is taken out insuch a way that the fore-leg is sliced out without completely severing it from the body. The skin of the two sides upto the waist will be taken inside the house by the priest. No other person should touch it.

(4) The entire portion of the waist is taken out and is divided into two halves. The right half portion that included the hind-leg and the tall is given to the senior 'tucha' or 'Tubul' relative and the other half is given to the junior 'tucha'.

Along with this, the intestine portion called

'Angoi' is divided into two halves. This portion meant for the 'tucha' relative is then cooked. The cooking area should not be far off from the place where the priest performed his rituals which is called 'Hongcha'. This portion must not be mixed with the portions cooked for the sacrificial feast meant for general invitees. As the meat is cooked, the priest enquires as to whether the meat has reached properly cooked stage. He will be informed that the meat is at the boiling point. At this, the priest goes inside the house, picks up the forelegs hung inside the house and puts on the boiling pot without being cut into pieces, wherein the waist portion of the meat meant for the 'tuchas' is being cooked. The priest assumed that the portion given to God or 'Pathen' must have also been cooked and is at the boiling point.

Therefore, the portion thus meant for the pathen also be included among the meat for the 'tucha' relatives. Thus, the waist portion, the intestine called 'Angoi' and the share for 'Pathen' having been boiled without chopping into pieces, are now fully cooked simultaneously. The pot of meat is taken down from the oven when ready and then the meat is cut into pieces. The slices are divided into as many shares as there are 'tucha' relatives of the performer.

After the distribution is made of the respective shares, if there still remain some more shares, such remainders will also be taken home by the 'tucha' relatives. Such shares of the 'tuchas' must, in no case, be allowed meaningless, nor will any other persons be entitled to partake of it.

(5) The portion of the meat meant for the commoners is cooked outside the house on the backyard or lawn. This is cooked after cutting the meat thus cooked is separated from the 'gravy' thereof. Then he 'gravy' alone is prepared as an item of menu different from the meat mixing with rice and is called 'Satui-Poh'.

(6) The head portion of the sacrificial animal is called 'Sapang'. It is exclusively meant for the Chief of the Village and members of Council of Ministers, the priest and other elderly persons of the village representatives who represent cross sections of the social stratum and including the perfumer of the 'Indawi worship'.

(7) The menu for eating 'Sapi', or the meat meant for the commoners is composed of two items :

(i) The 'gravy' item mixed with rice called 'Setui-Poh' and

(ii) The meat portion as 'boiled-curry' is fried with salt and chilly. This item of curry is divided into as many shares as possible to ensure that each participant to the sacrificial feast receives a share of no less than four to five pieces of the meat. This is the second item of the menu.

(8) Out of this 'Sapi-Meat' the Priest, the performer and his 'becha' are made to eat together exclusively separate from the other participants. Their sitting order is as follows :

While the commoners eat outside the house, the said four persons eat inside at the mid-section of the house. They eat together from one big round plate made of wood. They take their positions facing each other in square shape. While the priest sits opposite to the performer facing backside of the house, the performer sits towards the inner side of the house, facing the front door. Facing each other are the 'bechas' of the priest and the performer. The meat given to them has no share. A quantity of meat, sufficient enough to satisfy them, is given. In the event of their inability to eat the whole quantity, the remainder is divided equally among them, and they take the same

to their homes.

On completion of the feasting ceremony, the priest who had earlier taken down the 'Indawi-deity' at the commencement of the propitiation from the roof of the house, now places it at the 'Sekon' branch, signifying the end of 'Indawi' worship ceremony on the last day of the rites after three days.

(9) With propitiations of 'Indawi' over, sacrificial feast follows. Before the feast is partaken, the priest calls the performer inside the house and makes him sit near the hearth of the family, facing the priest. He invokes incantation and offers a piece of meat of the neck portion as set aside for him with an advice that the remaining meat may be taken at random as and when wishes to, but must be finished within three days.

(10) Thereafter, the priest advises the performer not to cross the area beyond the portion where he had earlier performed the 'Indawi' rites during the period of three days, on the expiry of which the 'Then-Hon', closing ceremony rite is to be performed.

(11) The priest also instructs the 'tuchas' of the performer that they keep some undefiled water drawn in the morning before the chirping of the early birds, called 'Vavom-Te-Nupa'. They should keep it in a new bamboo container called 'tuithei'. Then he leaves the place for home.

(12) One third day, the priest goes early in the morning to the residence of the performer. He gives water kept ready by the 'tuchas' as per his instruction to the performer of the 'the undefiled Indawi' rites in the cup filled to its brim. The remaining quantity of the water is sprinkled by the priest all over the floor inside the house. He does so up to the portico of the house where he had earlier performed the 'Indawi' rites. This act of

the priest is called dedication rite called 'Thenhon-Na'.

(13) After sprinkling of water is finished, the 'Indawi' which was earlier placed on the 'Sekon' or on a branch of a stick in the likeness of 'Sekon', is taken down and placed at the 'Biching', inner portion of the roof and slightly above the 'eaves' of the porch of the house where it is thrust into the thatch. As he does so, the priest invokes propitiation by spraying a mouthful of 'ZU'.

CONCLUSION

Unlike other religious rites, 'Indawi' rites manifest the individualistic nature of the rite. Every Thadou household has to perform the 'Indawi' worship, and it is not done on community basis. Even in the same family when a son has a separate family and wishes to have his 'Indawi', he had to go the whole hog by performing the rites. A father may observe the rites for his family consisting of his dependant sons. In case of the eldest son, the same 'Indawi' which is installed by his father is to be taken as his own. No new 'Indawi' is required for him only.

The word 'Indawi' literally means 'household-magic' or 'witchcraft' and is the name given to the deity of individual household. It is, therefore, a family deity, though the community is invited to take part in various phases of its activities, when a particular man performs 'Indawi' worship. But the invitees or community never take active part in it. Instead, they are mere observers in fulfillment of their social obligations in associating with the elaborate rituals.

The only active participant, besides the performer, is the priest who officiates in the ritual ceremony concerning the religious aspect of the rites. The 'tucha' and the 'becha' relatives of the performer, Chief of the Village and wife of the host are active in so far as fulfillment of their individual's social role is concerned. As could be gathered from Hose and McDougall's work on the 'Pagans of Borneo', 'Indawi' worship is very similar to the 'Siap Aioh' of the Kenyahs. Every family that worships 'Indawi' should have one 'Indawi' deity which is also said to be very similar to the 'Sanamahi' deity of the Meiteis of Manipur.

Notes & References

1 *To avoid redundance, 'Thadou' is used to mean 'Thadou Kuki*

2 Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, New York, 1874, Pp. 425-47.

3 Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, London, 1915, P. 10.

4 Herskovitch, Merville, *Cultural Anthropology*, New York, 1955, P.223.

5 Lang, Andrew, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, London, 1887, P.327.

6 Gangte, T.S., *Kukis of Manipur,* Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, Pp. 208 -210.

7 Shaw, William, *The Thadou Kukis,* Government of Assam, Shillong, 1929, Pp. 37-75.

8 Hutton, J.H., 1929, Footnotes on *The Thadou Kukis* by William Shaw, Assam, Shillong, Pp. 153-540.

3

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG MIGRANT KUKI TRIBES

INTRODUCTION

The subject matter dealing with this chapter requires to highlight two aspects on the life of Kukis. One is briefly to project as to whether the Kukis are MIGRANT TRIBES and the other is on the subject matter.

THE KUKIS AS MIGRANT TRIBES

It was generally believed that the Kukis came out of China during the reign of Chinese Emperor, Chinglung or Chie'nlung, around 200 B.C.. Zawla[1], a Mizo historian, claimed that the Kukis came out of the Great Wall of China in about 225 B.C. during the reign of Shih Hungti whose cruelty was then at its height. A number of other theories have been advanced in this connection. But in the absence of any written corroboration of existence of historical evidence to support them, such hypothetical theories are considered as highly subjective and conjectural. These are, therefore, taken with a pinch of salt. They remained only as legends.

Nevertheless, Enriquiez[2] was emphatic in his claim, in that he thought he had ample scientific data at his command to prove that Mongolian races, who now occupy South East Asia, and also the North-East India, originated from the Western China lying between the sources

of the Yangtze arid the Hoang-Ho rivers, and migrated in three waves as follows:

1. The Mon-Khmer (Talaing, Pa Lung, En Riang, Ma, Pale, Khais and Annimite) which include Khasis;
2. The Tibeto-Burman comprising Pyu-Burmese-Kachin, Kuki-Chin and Lolo;
3. The Tal-Chinese which included Shan, Siamese and Karen.

The route chart of the Mon-Khmer group was that they followed the Mekong valley towards south into Campuchea and Thailand until they reached Burma wherefrom some of them went westward upto Bay of Bengal and then turned towards North. It is believed that the Khasis are the remnants of the Mon-Khmer group.

Tibeto-Burman group initially moved towards the west and thereafter subdivided themselves into several groups. They followed different routes, one group reaching Tibet on the North where some of them stayed behind, while others moved on Northwards until they reached Burma in three waves. These people were the Kuki-Chin and the Pyu-Burmese-Kachin groups. While the latter stuck to this place, the Kuki-Chin group moved further towards South-West following the Irrawady and the Chindwin rivers and continued to do so till they reached the shores of Bay of Bengal. From here they turned tack North and eventually fanned out along the mountains down the whole length and breadth of the hilly region, on either Side of the existing Indo-Burma boundary lines. Thus, when the British came here in the eighteenth century they found the groups scattered about, and the British Officers started keeping records of the various clans or groups of Kukis at different places wherever they were found to have settled.

Hutton[3] (1929) in one his monograph described the migratory routes of the Kukis in a more lucid manner and was more specific in regard to the scattered settlements of the Kukis as given below:

> For a very long time the Kuki-Chin groups of tribes, pressed from behind Kachins moving Southwards from China, and been migrating down the course of the Chindwin river, and some turned back perhaps by the Bay of Bengal, had then moved slowly North-West

and Northwards again, driving out or incorporating previous inhabitants of what are now parts of the Chittagong Hill Tracts of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), the Chin Hills of Burma, the Lushai Hills of Assam, parts of the areas of Manipur State, North Cachar Hills and the South of the Naga Hills".

Lehman[4] observed, History shows, however, that both hills and plains peoples have moved about within the general region of South-West China and South East Asia over considerable distances for many centuries until the recent past".

Captain Pemberton[5], Joint Commissioner in Nan in his report on the Eastern Frontiers of British India wrote that

... The Khongjees, who under the more generally known names of Rookies, Kookies, Koo-chungs and Kuci, stretch from the Southern border of the Muneepoor valley to the Northern limit of the province of Aracan... that the Kookies have been dually advancing for years in a northerly direction and have hitherto established themselves on the ranges which are originally occupied by more northerly tribes or committed such fearful aggressions upon the latter, as to compel them to retire and an unoccupied tract between themselves and these formidable opponents"

Similarly, Maj. Gen. Johnstone, Sir James[6] told that the Kukin

"... were now immigrants and were believed to have caused a great deal of ... anxiety about the year 1845, and soon poured into the hill tracts of Manipur in such number as to drive away many of the older inhabitants".

Thus, Prof. Meerwarth[7] remarked in his study on the Andamanese, Nicobarese and Hill Tribes of Assam observed that the Kukis

"... are very migratory, and their settlement can be

found dispersed among the other tribes, such as, the Cacharis, the Nagas, etc.. They are split into a great number of tribes".

And so said Majumdar[8] that the Kuki Chiefs

"... rule the country between the Karnafuli river and its main tributory, Tuilampal on the west, and the Tyao and the Koladyne rivers in the east. While their Southern boundary is roughly a line down East and West through the junction of the Mat and Koladyne rivers and their most Northerly villages are found on the borders of the Silchar district. The Lushai and others with distinct Lushai affinities are found scattered over wide areas: they are found in the southern borders of Sylhet in Tipperah and in the North of the Cachar Hills, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts also contain some Lushai villages".

Different scholars and British administrators described the Kukis unanimously as belonging to the Mongolian Stock, but they did not specify as to which particular Mongolian group they belonged. While Yule (1885), Col. Phayre (1866) and McCabe concluded that kukis belonged to the Indo-Chinese family. Capt. Fobes and Dr. Grierson differed and called them as a part of Tibeto-Burman group. Taw Sien Kho, a Burmese lecturer at Cambridge classified the Kukis as Turanean[9] which included the Chinese, Manchus, Japanese, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, Turks, etc. , and further said that their habitat included the whole of North Eastern India before the Aryan conquest.

Dr. Hutton, J. H.[10] commenting on the extreme nature of migratory habit of the Kukis quoted a Kuki who told him, "... We are like bird in the sky. We do not know where we build our nest; next".

Notwithstanding, Hutton remarked,

"When I first met the Kuki acquaintance and for years after, I regarded him merely as an administrative nuisance... The operations against the rebellious Kuki in the Manipur State in 1918 and 1919 had to a much acquaintance with him, and from then onwards the

more I have seen of the Kuki, the more I have respected him and the better I like him. For pluck, intelligence, straight forwardness and cheerful he stands high among his neighbours. I cannot say so much for his industry or his sobriety. He is a bad cultivator, and much behind his surrounding tribes in agriculture, though as much ahead of then in such domestic arts as weaving or working in metal. When there is killing afoot, he is blood thirsty. Little game survives where the Kuki settles.... In war the Kuki, when he gets the chance, often carries out massacres on a fairly large scale, partly, perhaps because he enjoys killing partly, at any rate, from deliberate "frightfulness" adopting that method of cowing the other side"

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

To many primitive people, their world was full of play and counter-play of mystic powers which supposedly influenced the shape and destiny of men. It is true that some groups of people being confronted with problems anti having failed to grapple with them try to attribute the cause of these problems to some unknown and unseen forces. These mysterious powers are generally called super naturals. According to Nanda supernatural refer to those powers, events and experiences that are beyond ordinary human control and the laws of nature and outside reality as normally experienced. Every society has some set beliefs and practices that enter into the relationship of the humans to the super naturals.

Tylor[11] also gives the definition of 'religion" as the belief in supernaturals. However, each society or a group of people has traditional, method of controlling these powers or to subordinate them through certain actions of occultism or esoteric practices, rites, rituals and ceremonies or celebrations in accompaniment. with offerings prayers or sacrifices so as to appease, placate or propitiate in order to enjoy a trouble-free life, having no anxiety or tension This, in course of time, gradually take the shape of an institutionalised system of beliefs, rituals,

rules, procedures, etc. through cults or systematised celebrated rituals or manifestations. With the passage of time, these are handed down from generation to generation and are entrenched into the thickly woven fabric or culture. Durkheim[12] therefore, propounded the concept of religion as having grown out of the social experience of man.

Probably, the Kuki groups of people from the hoary past adopted themselves with the ecology and environment, and thereby fashioned their life styles, Interaction with varied situations might have weathered or attuned the cultural core through their migrations from time immemorial. Series of rolling ridges with disproportionate undulations, forest clad mountains of variable intensities and the gorging rivers might have influenced their cognitive system or cosmology. Seasonal variations and distinctive action patterns for survival have perhaps contributed to their understanding about themselves. The transforming world with some concept of hitherto unseen forces, considered us supernaturals, also could be discernible to them. Thus, supernaturalism has variations and distinctive categories

CONCEPT OF CHUNG-PATHIEN

It is the concept of *Chung-Pathien* or the source of 'All Creations' that is considered to be the highest benevolent God who lives in heaven or sky. Such concept of religion, according to Andrew Lang[13], manifests in the belief in High Gods. He is believed to have created the universe and all the living beings. All people firmly believe that everything concerned with prosperity, growth and strength in life is nothing but the free gift of *Chung-Pathien*. He is considered omnipotent and also omniscient. Thus, he is all powerful but he does not want any propitiation or worship or appeasement through sacrifices and offerings. He does good to all and sundry.

The concept of *Chung-Pathien* is abstract and thus it has no anthropomorphic form or a permanent place or residence. The nomenclature of *Chung-Pathien* signifies an honorific term used for addressing a male person with respect and veneration. Dichotomy prevails while conceptualising *Chung-Pathien*, viz., the benevolent with also evil or bad power having the forces of destruction, and all other forms of evil. He is supposed to live in the underworld and is called

Noimangpa'. He is behaved to have been sent by *Chung-Pathien* from the heaven or the sky to dwell at 'Kholmun' where all living being are found.

EVIL, INCARNATE ENTITIES

Therefore, the world of supernaturals reigns supreme among the Kukis, while the other entities are related to evil and are susceptible of being appeased or placated through performance of elaborate rituals and sacrifices which constitute prayers of 'Phuisap' by the Priest called Thiempu who officiates the ceremony among the Kukis, Some evil spirits are

I. 'Gamhoise' devil of the jungle and 'Inmunse', devil of the house, meaning thereby 'accursed place' by a combination of the two words. Souls of the persons meeting unnatural death become this type of dangerous spirits. They are supposed to create trouble to the people according to their own sweet will, at the places where such unnatural deaths occur. In other words, the place is haunted by the soul of the person.

II. 'Joumi' is a dangerous male spirit. It frightens people and people may die out of shock and fear. It. is active during night and its form is said to be elastic though mostly it is seen very tall. It is said that it usually stands at the same height of any tree nearby which it happens to appear. The 'Joumi' is reportedly very fond of chicken. It kills mostly cocks and hen by throttling the neck and sucking its blood.

III. 'Kulsamnu' is considered to be a female spirit which is in- charge of keeping the souls of the individuals. After the death of a person, it has to take away the soul and keep the same in a permanent resting place, known as 'Van'.

IV. 'Chomnu' is another female spirit, but it rarely causes any trouble to mankind. It is considered to be a harmless spirit.

V. 'Gamlahlen' is yet another male spirit who causes disease or sickness to the people. It resides in the jungle and to appease it, effigy of a buffalo made of clay is offered along with 'Zu' cock and unboiled rice.

VI. 'Gamkao' is an evil spirit of a particular place of a jungle which can cause serious illness to the person who meets such spirit.

VII. 'Kaomei' is an evil spirit which flies at night like a fire-fly in a much bigger volume of fire-ball,

VIII. 'Kaosie' is a greedy spirit. It can enter in a person and convert such person into a different personality, changing the voice, the behaviour and strength. Such spirit can be released only when it is appeased with what it wants.

RITUAL FORMALITIES

Herskovits[14] observed:

> The ways in which men seek to bring themselves into harmony with the powers of the universe are many. They may be intensely personal, or require participation by the entire group. They may be public or private. They may involve highly keyed emotional improvisation, or demand precision of movement, set by an ancient tradition. They may call for the recitation of elaborate formulas, or may be wordless. They may utilise special objects, carefully made and of intricate form or they may be restricted to non-material expression in word or song or dance. Any of these, moreover, may be found alone or in combination with others. And any of them, or all, may be used to petition or compel action by powers whose resources transcend those of the human being who invokes them.
>
> Prayer is one of the principal categories of worship. It may be defined as the use of words to bring about the favourable intervention of the powers of the universe

in the affairs of men. It can vary from casual address to formalised plea, and may be specific or general in its reference.

Rituals or ceremonies are the pivots round which some thoughts about supernatural rotate. Myths, lores or some incantations are there and these are woven in esoteric words which express gratitude and promises for future, vis-a-vis prayer for protection, help and security against rainy days. It is chanted in their own broken doggerel language which is known as 'Phuisam' meaning thereby utterances of words of magic called 'Doithu'. These are impregnated with magical potentialities and are believed to have tremendous impact on the spirit.

The sacred complex[15] as found elsewhere is not pronounced in the life of the Kukis while dealing with the super naturals. The idea of a sanctuary is absent among them, As we find elsewhere, certain specific sites, either fixed traditionally or finalised by the people, is conspicuous by their absence. It is done or finalized by the priest, 'Thiempu'. His post is hereditary and practically he has to hold his position by his capabilities and social image. Then there are elaborate rituals, sometimes with offerings and sacrifices, as there is no anthropomorphic form of the deity and only one god is present. Their religion therefore, is not based on pantheon but on monotheism, though some evil spirits are named which have specific activities, and manifestations.

The Thiempu has to do everything through oneirology which he gets during night while sleeping. Through dreams and visions, he gets all directions as to what he should do, when and with what materials or ingredients, what incantations are to be used are also indicated as his guidelines by the spirit who appears in dream to the Priest. Theoretically, the priest is the only professional specialist in the trade in the Kuki society in the interpretation of dreams, visions, stars, omen, etc. He is the only individual who has to maintain communion in the form of sorcery or magic with the supernatural elements and the human beings. And some in the profession had acquired so much of knowledge that they can even counter any spell cast by evil witchcraft. Naturally, therefore, his position in the society is highly esteemed as the 'Thiempu' who is the Priest of whatever religious form of belief they attribute.

Hills, forests and rivers are conceived as having some potentialities and the people have to interact with them all the time for their existence and perpetuations. The bounty of nature is reflected through these natural phenomena. As such, the veneration and respect for these are unquestionable.

Therefore, the Priest on the following causes maintains some formalities:

In the case of forest, and sylvan spirit, locally called 'Gamlah Vel', pig is sacrificed as an important item. Besides pig, a little 'Kolbu Kanpoh' (Pop-corn), 'Chang Kanpoh' (Pop-rice) and 'Nakena' (a kind of leaf, the tree of which is called 'Nake'. One side of the leaf is white, while the other is green). The 'Phelex' that is made of thin bamboo split, is normally used in building construction for fixing up the joints. This is also called 'Nang' which is coloured with white, black and red colours. It is quadrangular in shape. On top of it, another 'Nang', thinned further, constitutes the decorative part. Generally, all these ingredients are placed on a small cane-built platform which is normally used as a contraption for dining table, usually about six inches above the ground. It is known as 'Ankong Lui Na'. This is also called Maicham' - the holy platform. All the above ingredients are spread over the 'Maicham' on which blood of the sacrificed animal is sprinkled. The meat, of the sacrificed animal is also placed on it in the following manner:

(a) A small portion of meat taken from the end of the mouth.

(b) Toes (the tips),

(c) Uppermost part, of the car, and

(d) End of the tail.

But, in the case of ceremonies associated with water-spirit living in the lake, stream or brook, known as 'Tui Thilha', a goat is sacrificed instead of a pig.

All the evil spirits required different kinds of animal as sacrifices. There are village rituals and these are performed during the spread of epidemic diseases, like cholera, etc. which spread very fast and are of contagious nature.

Excepting these festivities and elaborate rituals, there are

familial worships or rituals, which are done as per vows. It has been stated earlier that there is no specific date or place for performing the rituals associated with a particular spirit; meticulous directions are received by the 'Thiempu' in dreams. As is the prime duty of a physician in any society, amongst the Kukis also it is the responsibility of the Priest called 'Thiempu' to find out causation.[16] Causation of disease and the nature of divination are to counter the evil spirit. As calamities/ diseases /misfortunes are considered to be the handiwork of some evil spirits, the Kukis have a clear idea of the seasonal variations and the whole year has been grouped into 12 months, which have great influence in the propitiation of the priest.

It is also of great curiosity and interest to note as to how the Kukis evolved naming of 12 months according to changes in nature and positions of the moon in the sky. Table below shows months both in English and in Thadou and the meanings thereof:

Durkheim observed:[17]

The divisions into days, weeks, months, years, etc., correspond to the periodical recurrence of rites, feasts and public ceremonies. A calendar expresses the rhythm of the collective activities, while at the same time its function is to assure their regularity.

Months with English Equivalence

Sl. No.	Months	With English equivalence
1.	Tolbol (There is much dust due to dry season)	January
2.	Bulte (The time for 'Thuom' and 'Bul' to bloom. Thuom is a flowering tree while 'Bul is fruit-bearing tree. It is the time when jungles are slashed for Zhum cultivation).	February
3.	Lhakao (It is the month when a small insect called 'KAO-JANG' comes out in menacing number. It enters even in the clothes which makes great discomfort to wear, when people	

spend their days and nights in the field, in hut or make-shift called Lou-buh'. This is the time when the trees that have been slashed are dried.) March

4. Lhatun (It is tin for sowing. 'Tun' means 'to sow'. It is the April time when a kind of bird which chirps as 'Muchi-tun-tun' indicating that sowing seed should commence, people start sowing seeds.) April

5. Lhaphul ('Phul' stands for 'Sproud'. It is the time when herbs, trees and all other greenery sproud and germinate) May

6. Lha-dou (This is the time when bamboo-sooths come up in plenty. It is also a time when a kind of wild turmeric called Aidou' blooms in plenty all over places and when people go to work enduring all hardships including the rain. Such endurance and bearing of harship is called 'dou'.) June

7. Lha-mul (This is the time when grasses grow in plenty. The ground becomes woolly which is called 'Mul' with such plenty of growth.) July

8. Lhajing (This is the time when all herbs, grasses and other greeneries grow to their full height resulting in the darkening of the jungles, roads, etc. The mo also faintest, if not darkest. The sky is also always cloudy and moonlit is seldom seen, 'Jing', therefore, stands for darkness. So nights are darkest during this month.) August

9. Lhalam. (This is the time when sky becomes clearest. Clouds have receded. Harvesting commences which is called 'Chang lam'. It is the time when moonlit is brightest when girls can pass thread through the eye of their needle under the moonlit. September.

10. El-Iha. (This is the time when winter sets in. People start having better health which makes them more jovial, elate, and fun and frolic loving which is called as 'El'. This is the best time of the year round. October

11. Phal-Lha. (This is the time when paddy had been collected after harvesting which is called 'Changphal'. This is the gathering time. November.

12. Awl-lha. (This is the time when people take respite from their hard labour and toiling of the year that is called 'Awl', meaning thereby leisure.) December

Counting of month-days is not based on a certain number of fixed days for a particular month. It is purely based from new moon to new moon. There are stages of marking the moon as follows:(1) Lha-thah, (2) Achol-ke (oval shaped-moon), (3) Avoni-lu-tai (like breast-head, almost full moon), (4) Alihtai (full moon), (5) Aheh suh tai (waning commences), (6) Avom-lu-tai (waning 1st stage), (7) Acholketai (half-waning), (8) Nisa-to-kilhon-tai (goes along with the sun).

As regards naming of the week-days, the Kukis do not have them in the traditional Form. But after becoming Christians, the first Christian among the Kukis, Ngulhao Thuomsong, in his Thadou primary book published in 1927 gave the names based on Biblical creation-week as given below which was furnished by Thanggoumang, then Chief of Sangnao and Ex-Member, Electoral College, Manipur:

Sl.No.	In Thadou	English equivalence
1.	Empatni (Beginning of creation-day)	Sunday
2.	Lisiemni (Creation day of the Earth)	Monday
3.	Van-Channi (Day of award of light)	Tuesday
4.	Van-hawm ni (Distribution day of light)	Wednesday

5.	Gan Siem ni (creation—day of birds, animals)	Thursday
6.	Mi siem ni (creation day of man)	Friday
7.	Chawlduo ni (Resting day)	Saturday

CONCLUSION

It is very clear from the above description that the monotheist Kukis, in olden days, were happy with one God - the All Creator - who had no anthropomorphic form to appear before the people, demanding any special worship or offerings. But a few minor mischievous spirits have already occupied their vast supernatural Pantheon and it is they, in many cases, who demand rituals along with other formalities, like offerings and sacrifices. This colourful display of the rituals, through ceremonies, has cut across the familian cult and his covered, rather involved, other people (or such specific purposes to reinforce the group solidarity through bindings and obligations. It is quite discernable that the less affluence, leisure and free time of the people and their movement from one place to another, have practically set time people with limited world view and thus they have capsulised their group identities. So, they have very minimal scope for proliferation. Rather, Chieftainship that compelled the group to be ruled by one and only spiritual head, the 'Thiempu' or the priest, had to brave all supernatural and spiritual confrontations through offerings, sacrifices and ceremonies. Their natures of offerings are less, items of worship are small and esoteric charms or incantations are not prolific to make everything more colourful, rhythmic and vibrant. However, procedures to overcome diseases and, sickness, through magic, divination and with occult practices are still in vogue and all these be cloud their mind and manifest it in the action pattern and thus their monotonous life has dazzled with rituals and ceremonies. But, slowly and inevitably, the force of conversion to Christianity proselytised the society drastically, though some have retained it through their rituals and ceremonies.

Notes & References

1 Zawla, K., *Mizo Pipu*, Aizawl, 1976, P. 2.

2 Enriqueze, C. N., *A Burmese Arcady*, London, 1932, Pp. 7-8.

3 Shaw, William, *Notes on Thadou Kukis*, Govt. of Assam, Shillong, 1929.

4 Lehman, R. K., *The Structure of Chin Society*, Urbana, 1963, 11.

5 Pemberton, Capt. R. B., *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India*, Calcutta, 1835, P. 15.

6 Johnstone, Maj. Gen., Sir James., *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, New Delhi, 1971, P. 25.

7 Meerwarth, A. N., Andamanese Nicoberese and Tribals of Assam, New Delhi, 1919, P. 29.

8 Majumdar, D. N., Races and Cultures of India, Bombay, 1944, P. 127.

9 Carey, Bertram S., and Tuck, H. N., *The Chin Hills*, Aizawl, 1932.

10 *N.3.*, P.23.

11 Tylor, E. B., Primitive Culture, New York, 1874, P. 425-47.

12 Durkheim, Emile, Elementary Forms of the Religious life, London, 1915, P. 10.

13 Andrew, Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion Society, London, 1887, P. 327.

14 Herskovits, *Cultural Anthropology*, Merville, New York, 1935, P. 223.

15 Vidyarthi, L.P., *Culture*, Calcutta, 1964.

16 *N.14.*, P. 221.

17 Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of the Religious life*, London, 1915, P.10 – 11.

4

STRUCTURE OF THADOU SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

A word is needed on the question of spelling of THADOU. Writing of 'OU' for '0' is the Manipur Convention of writing. This has its advantages in getting rid of a diacritical mark. The sound 'OU' represents is a simple '0' vowel and not a diphthong. I would, therefore, use 'OU' in spelling THADOU instead of THADO, though many authorities on THDOU used the spelling TI-IDO.

Likewise, while the authorities quoted herein 'used' the spelling DONGNGEL or DONGEL, I will consistently use 'OU' in spelling DOUNGEL.

Thus, when we come across in this article the spelling of THDOU or DOUNGEL, it should not be confused with the spelling of THADO or DONGNGEL or DONGEL. THADOU or DOUNGEL is my style of spelling and THADO or DONGNGEL, or DONGGEL is the spelling-style of the authorities quoted herein.

Secondly, defining 'Social Structure', Raymond Firth[1], Professor of Anthropology, London University, said in his book on Human Types as given below:

> "Life in a Community means organisation of the interests of individuals, regulations of their behaviour towards one another, and grouping of them together for common action. The relationship thus created

> between them can be seen to have some kind of plan or system, which may be called 'Social Structure'. The way in which the relationships actually work, affecting the lives of individuals and the nature of the society, may be called their 'Social Function'.

Thirdly, different indigenous ethnic tribal groups in the North-East Region of India, such as, Lushai, Hmar, Paite, Zou, Simte, Gangte, Kom, Chiru, Chothe, Maring, Anal, Vaiphei, Thadou, etc., were, according to the findings of Anthropologists and Administrative authorities, once clubbed under the 'generic terminology' called 'KUKI' as their collective 'National entity'. These tribal appellations have specific literal connotations, except the term 'Thadou'. Unlike others, this particular appellation called THADOU is distinctly peculiar and differently conspicuous. It is claimed that the nomenclature 'Thadou' is the name of eponymous ancestor and the progenitor of the descendants of THADOU, the younger brother of DOUNGEL.

Fourthly, another School of concept claimed Thadou as Burman title denoting 'Courage' or 'Ability', and is, therefore, not personal name of the progenitor of the descendants of Thadou, as believed to be.

Fifthly, McCulloch, M.,[2] said that THADOU

> "... pay much attention to their genealogy, and profess to know the names of their chiefs in succession, from their leader (Chongthu) out of the bowels of the earth upto the present time. About the names of those previous to THADO, there may be doubt, but from this great chief, from whom the whole race takes the appellation of THADOU, I do not think there is any".

He further observed that inhabitants of the hills surrounding the valley of Manipur are known in the west

> "... under the general appellations of NAGA and KUKIE, that in Manipur, the Manipuris use the term 'HAU' to embrace them all, that the term 'Khongjai'

is used to denote the 'KUKIS' and that the THADOS are the cream of the 'Khongjai' who are "Par excellence" the male descendants of THADO".

Sixthly, findings, contentions, views, opinions, etc., highlighted in this article are purely that of the authorities quoted except that based on my own empirical studies I make comments, supplementaries, here and there, in cases where there occur discrepancies with their findings and contentions.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

McCulloch clearly pinpointed as to how exactly Thadou social structure functions when he stated that the Thadous "pay much attention to their genealogy and profess to know the names of their chiefs in succession..." Here lies the secret of Raymond Firth's definition of 'Social Structure'.

In this connection we may draw our attention to the effect that though there is no such rigid system as is found in castes hierarchical order in the Hindu Varna, the stereotype structure of Thadou social system is based on the order of precedence of lineal descents, numbers thereof being dependent on the extent of widespread of their sub-lineal branches which make the Thadous and their collateral clans enable to claim their pedigrees right from the legendary ancestor called CHONGTHU (some spelled as Shongthu) to Thadou. The Genealogical Tree from Chongthu to Thadou the social structural base found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal: N.S. XXIV: is reproduced herein below:

GENEALOGICAL TREE FROM CHONGTHU TO THADOU[3]

CHONGTHU begets Sattong; Chongja is the younger brother of Chongthu; SATTONG begets Thangpi Sattong married Shiechin, a woman from Vanlai Village believed located in celestial abode. Sattong has two younger brothers but are unknown;

THANGPI begets Shingmeng and Hangmeng: the Koms,

Kilongs, Vaipheis, Chirus and other Old Kukis claim Hangmeng as their progenitor;

SHIINGMENG begets Titou, Touhin and Touthang.

(a) Titou is the progenitor of Dongngels whose seniority is said not being accepted by the Thados of other clans now as the lineage has become extinct in the true line and is now represented by the descendant of a slave.[4]

(b) Touthang is the progenitor of the Lamhao Kukis.

TOUHIN begets Ni-nel;

NI-NEL begets Hlohluh;

HLOHLUH begets Sehtha;

SEHTHA begets Thadou Chongloi and Hangseen (Hangshing);

THADO begets Thahloon;

THAHLOON begets Elmun (by first wife), Keepgen (Kipgen) and Haupid (Haokip) (by second wife.)

(a) In defence of Chengjapao: Hutton, J.H.[5] (1928), in his review of the above contention in regard to the non-acceptance of Doungel's lineage whose House was allegedly extinct, endorsed to the truth of structural order of the Genealogical Tree from Chongthu to Thadou, but was very skeptical to the alleged extinction of direct male line of Doungel clan. In doing so, he was emphatic to say.

> "I find it quite impossible to accept this view, which arises solely, I think, from the arrogant vapourings of Khutinthang (Kilkhong), who as head of the Shithlo clan would be Chief of all the Thado, if the Dongngel clan were really extinct. No doubt the fact that Thado himself, though a member of the cadet branch, has given his name to the whole tribe, has influenced others to this extravagant claim, but it is quite untenable. Even if the claim of head of the Dongngel clan to an unblemished descent be rejected, there are plenty of cousins whose family tree is unquestioned, not to

mention the Thomlhun and Haolai (Jongbe) clans, both seniors in descent to the Shithlo and with unimpeachable pedigree. It is unlikely, however, that there is any BONAFIDE doubt about the legitimacy of Chengjapao's descent from Dongngel, as otherwise the cousins who reinstated Neingul's son, Ngulchin, would have claimed the Chieftainship for themselves."

In order to justify his stand, Hutton provided the genealogical tree of the House of Doungel and gave his verdict on the issue as found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal stating that pedigree of the Doungel.

".. has been so much pother about the illegitimacy of the line that now represents Dongngel. The theory appears to be based on the scandal caused by Neingul's marriage, and perhaps on doubts as to the real parentage of Ngulchin, but seems really to arise from the arrogance of Khutinthang, who probably really claims precedence rather as the head of the lineal descendant of Thado, which he is, than in any bonafide belief that the elder line is extinct. They are far from that, and if the Lhotjem and Gwite are excluded, there are still members of the Thomlhun and Haolai clans with pedigrees every bit as genuine as Khutinthang's if less distinguished..."

The above mentioned Hutton Genealogy runs as follows:

(a) HUTTON'S HOUSE OF DOUNGEL (1928)

CHONGTHU begets Thitho, Thohin and Tothang (as the Lamhao, mostly in Burma

THTTHO begets Sattong; SATTONG begets Thangpi and Hangchon;

THANGPI begets Javung;

JAVUNG begets Jaman;

JAMAN begets Mangtul and Thomhlun: a clan represented in lutshe,

making and possibly, other villages in Manipur;

MANGTUL begets Shichang;

SHICHANG begets (i) Lhotjim: an adopted son who had been found abandoned under a basket. Being older than Dongngel was called elder brother by him, but was of unknown parentage.

(ii) Dongngel Gwite, named after the sunlight given by his mother, to cover her shame, born of illicit relation with his sister; and

(iii) Hangchang : Hangchang, a quo Haolai or Jongbe (though the Haolai repudiate this name).

DONGNGEL begets Thithang;

THITHANG begets Thatthum;

THATTHUM begets Neilun and Changthong (his pedigree will be given later - (Please see (I) below);

NEILUN begets Neingul and Haongul (a bastard) : Neingul ran away to Sheitul with a girl of inferior status and remained there in shame on account of his MISALLIANCE. His heritage was claimed by Haongul but the cousins objected and went to Sheitul and fetched back Neingul's son to succeed Neilun.

NEINGUL begets Ngulchin;

NGULCHIN begets Nguljam;

NGULJAM begets Chengjapao, Chief of the Dongngel clan and (2) below:

Head of the Thadou, and Thangngam (Younger brother of Chengjapao)

TONGIENG begets Satkhujam, Khatnahel (+see below) and Paongul;

SATKHtJJAM begets Sheilun;

SHEILUN begets Jamkhusat;

· + above)

ATNAHEI(Khatjahel), first younger brother of Satkhujam, begets pkhothang;

JPKHCTHANG begets Jamkhulet and Lengjalun.

ıbove: CHANGTHONG, the younger brother of Neilun, begets ;leng;

(2) *Chengjapao, Head of the Thadou : It was Lengjalun who gave this pedi gree of the 'Dongnge genealogical tree to Dr. Hutton in 1928 which he published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, N.S.XXIV Based on the above genealogy of the Doungel clan, 'Hutton was fully convinced to declare* lineage *and that he did not Ghengjapao not only the most legitimate Chief to House of Doungel clan but also, to use his own wordings,* HEAD OF THE THADO.

Hutton further contended to say that:

> *"The Shitlho Chief, who contested the headship recently, used himself to pay SHATHING (Sating) to Chengjapao till 1918 and on taking his case into court in Manipur in 1928 had his claim to seniority laughed out at Court."*

Hutton was also found to have observed that the line of Doungel was to of Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi, the head of Shitlho, that the latter "... used to pay SATTHING (Sating) to Chengjapao until the Kuki rebellion, and that the ground on which he alleged that the line of Doungel was extinct was presumably that of Neingul's MESSALLIANCE. Even if this were a legitimate ground, however, Chengjapao's descendants would have a prior claim to seniority to Kilkhong's, not to mention Chungul, Chief of Haolai, -as well as the head of the Thomlhun family, if the Gwite would be ruled out.

He also gathered information from Mr. Simon Jenkins Duncan, that the allegation that the Doungel was INGAM was based on a story that Doungel died without a legitimate issue and had omitted to recognize his illegitimate offspring, Gwite, and that Thadou was entitled to inherit under the circumstances, but refused inheritance, which passed by default to a slave.

Hutton further contended,

> "... I suspect the INGAM theory to be a recent invention of the Shithlo. The Lhotjim claimed seniority to the Dongngel clan in court in 1928, on the ground that Dongngel called their ancestor "elder brother", but it is said that all the evidence supported the Dongngel contention".

The argument appears to have been advanced entirely on the question of seniority in lineal descent in the social hierarchical order sidelining the ground reality of dispute as to the question of recognition and legitimacy over inheritance to the HOUSE OF DOUNGEL in terms of custom and tradition. It should be understood in right perspective as pointed out by Duncan. In the entire history of Thadou, it has not been heard of an instance of Sitlhou claiming precedence over his elder brother Doungel. Things have been twisted to build up more antagonism among collateral cousins.

Hutton further claimed that he was given a separate genealogical tree of Haolai by one, Ehpu, a minor chief of the Haolai family who was reportedly much concerned lest incorrect information be fed-in by other informants. He further stated Ehpu was very far gone in his cups at the time of supplying the Haolai family had the opportunity to discuss whether he held to his version when sober. The Holai lineage line runs as follows according to Ehpu:

(b) THE HOUSE OF HAOLAI

SHONGTHU begets Sattong;

SATTONG begets Thangpi;

THANGPI begets Javung;

JAVUNG begets Mangtul;

MANGTUL begets Shingmen;

SHINGMEN begets Hangmen;

HANGMEN begets Thitho (of Aishan) and Thohin (of Jampi a quo-Thado);

THITHO begets Sheichang;

SHE begets Dongngel and Hangchang;

HANGCHANG begets HAOLAI.

Hutton observed that the number of generation from Chongthu to Doungel was the same in each case, and many of the names were identical though not in the same order. The discrepancy was probably

such as must inevitably arise between two versions of an account preserved only by oral tradition, and further stated that Ehpu's version agreed more closely with that of the Sitlhou, who, however, made Hangmen, the younger brother of Shingmen the ancestor of Kom and the Old Kukis.

II. MC CULLOCH'S THADOU SOCIAL STRUCTURE: 1857

Having gone meticulously thorough investigations, McCulloch (1857: p63-64: Valley of Manipur) stated that Thadous pay much respect to their senior lineal descents, in token expression of which they

> "... present to the Chief of their particular branches one tusk of each elephant they my capture, these Chiefs again making a present to their superior, the head of all..."

They also pay, in bounden duty, 'Sating', the topmost flesh portion of an animal, captured or killed, that runs along the backbone, as tribute annually. McCulloch also stated that -

> "Their attention to genealogy, the distinction of clans, and the respect paid to their seniors, I have noticed. Out of this my have sprung the only exclusiveness shown by the 'Khongjai', namely in the point of who would be entitled to use his comb and whose comb he might use. This is, though amongst them, a very important matter. I cannot find to have any religious importance attached to it, but there is an indication of the superior rank in respect of descent or by connection, or of the estimation in which an individual is held or holds himself to be found in the persons to whom he would refuse his comb, or amongst whom his comb is common."

He further said that the Thadous are very particular as to who is entitled to use whose comb and that social precedence among the Thadous may be tested by this. Stewart in his Notes on North-Cachar

observed that the Thempu (Priest) presents a newly married couple with a comb each that man and wife only may use the same comb.

It is also a fact that all the Thadou clans believe and practice purity of comb and this is one of the peculiarities with which custom and tradition, the status and standing of a man in the social hierarchy among Thadous is determined.

McCulloch further observed that the Changsels (Changsans) and Thlangums (Thangums or Lhangums) do not belong to the Thadou race, but are, the Thadous say, of some ancient races which were in existence before they arrived on the earth's surface and that they do not pay 'Sating' to any Thadou clan. The Thlangums are, he further said, distinct from the Changsans, that the Thadous are, distinct from the Changsans and that the Thadous

> "... themselves are divided into the great clans of Shithlo, Shingsol(Singson), Chongloi, Hangseen (Hangshing), Keepgen (Kipgen) and Haukeep (Haokip) from whom again have sprung many other clans junior in rank but numerous as themselves, such as, Chongfoot (Chongphut), Telnoh (Telngoh), Holthung (Holthang), Mangvoong(Mangvung), Voongthung, etc."

He further commented that:

> "The attention of this tribe to their genealogy is curious, and the circumstance of the Muniporees providing in each family a "Mei-hou-rol" or genealogical tree is a cdincidence of custom worthy of notice".

Thus, on completion of minute enquiries McCulloch finally published his work on the House of Shithlo in 1857 as given below (ii, Appendix II: Valley of Manipur):

(a) MC CULLOCH'S HOUSE OF SITLHOU (1857):

SEHTHA[6] begets Thado, Chongloi and Hangseen (Hangsing)

THADO begets Thaloon (Thaihun);

THALOON begets Elmuln, Keepgen (progenitor of clan of this name) and Haukeep (progenitor of clan of this name);

ELMUN begets Ning-el (Ni-el);

NING-EL begets Ningsong, Shingsheet and Doolhoum;

NINGSONG begets Songtong;

SONGTONG beget Yakeel (Jakil);

YAKEEL begets Sithlau (Sitlhou);

SITLHOU begets Kiltong, Kilphoong and Tongmang;

KILTONG begets Thinseen (Lhousing);

THIANSEEN begets Tongloon;

TONGLOON begets Moontom (Munthuom) and Mangyel;

MOONTOM begets Tomhil;

TOMHIL begets Loontong (extinct), Moonvn (extinct) and Yahlau (Jelhao);

YAHLAU begets Henmang and Goulen;

HENMANG begets Hauton, Haugotung (Hokhothang), Nenkai, Hauwon, Hangkoop and Nelet;

HAUTON begets Mangthoo, Toopso and Kolet;

MANGTHOO begets Tungotung(Tongkhothang) and Yeloon (Jalun);

TUNGOTUNG begets Toosong (Thosong), Mangminthung(Mangminthang) and Letkoolool(Letkholun);

TOO SONG begets Kooding Mang (Khotinmang), the present Chief.

"Thado had two brothers, Chongloi and Hangseen. There are many Chonglois in existence, and a few of the Hangseen clan."[7]

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF HINGEL (Known as Phoh-Hill including SINGSON)[8]

THALHUN begets Elmun (by First wife), Kipgen and Haokip (by Second wife),

|

ELMUN begets Shingshit, Shitkil and Thomsong.

|

HING-EL begets Shingshit, Shitkil and Thomsong.

|

PHOH-HIL begets Hilhao, Goungoh, Lhuhao, Douhang and Hanmang.

|

HILHAO begets Tonghil and Vum-el.

|

TONGHIL begets Maosong.

|

HAOSONG begetsSonghao.

|

SONGLHENG begets Koplet.

|

KOPLET begets Lhengtong and Tonlet (extinct)

|

LHENGTONG begets Haopimang (extinct) and Palon.

|

PALON begets Songjakhup

|

SONGJAKHUP begets Tonkhohen OF Chongjang village of Naga Hills.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF SINGSON (Younger Brother of Phoh-Hill)[9]

THALHUN begets Elmun, Kipgen and Haokip.

ELMUN begets Ning-el and Hing-el (known as PHOH-HIL including Singson)..

HING-EL begets Shingshit, Shitkil and Thomsong.

SHINGSHIT begets Phoh-Hil AND Singson (some spell as Shingson).

SHITLUNG begets Doutong, Doumang, Tolshou (by First wife) and Shingvung (by second wife).

DOUTONG begets Chonsing and Jinmang (by First wife) and Chonvung, Thatthom and Jangtong by Second wife). .

CHONGSING begets Janmang.

JANGMANG begets Neilut and Tongvung.

NEILUNG begets Goushong, Khomang and Kaivum and Tonlet (extinct)

Goushong begets Kailet, Khotinlum, Mangneh, Janmang and Shinglen..

KAILET begets Shongmang, Lengmang, Joulen, Shongkai and Mangngul

SHONGMANG begets Letsong.

LETRSONG begets Kaikhomang.

KAIKHOMANG begets Khotinkai, Mangpilun. and Lhuhen (both extinct)

KHOTINKAI begets Goupi[10]

GOUPI (extinct)

LENGMANG begets Letngul

LETNGUL begets Mangjatong and Ngulkhup

MANGJATONG begets Mangkhovum and Paya

MANGKHOVUM begets Kaikhothang and Paokhomang

KAIKHOTHANG begets Lunkhotinthang (extinct) and Mangpu (extinct)

III. DALTON'S THADO: 1872

Similarly, based on the findings of McCulloch, Dalton, Edward Tuite,[11] (1872:p47), in his book on the "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", said that among the Thadous—

"comb, perhaps these particular combs are very sacred things. It is very unlucky to lose them, and man and wife only may use the same comb. When a man dies, the comb is buried with him, and his near relatives break their combs and must roam with disheveled hair for a few days before they renew them".

IV. MACKENZI'S THADOU (1879)

In February, 1887, the Rajah of Sumjok complained to the Political Agent, Manipur, that a party of 'Khongjais' attacked a village called Nampee, situated within Burmese territory, and killed 45 men, women and children. An enquiry Commission was constituted and the case was concluded inconclusively as it was believed that the Kukis were being used by the Burmese and the Manipuris as 'buffer' or 'instrumental' to their evil designs against each other.

(a) Chassad Thado, Haokip Piba (Inpi):

It was believed that the Kukis involved therein were the Chassad Thado Haokips said the Government of India order No.1554 E.P. dated the 11 July, 1879. But Alexender Mackenzie in his book on 'North-East Frontier of India, 1884 p203, on the above subject expressed his reservation saying that in consideration of his position as the Head of Thadou Haokip, he should not have stooped so low, "The Chassad Haokip being the Piba of the Haokip Thado", and said further that -

"...Acting as the emissary of the Kukis, the King of Sumjok demanded that one "Chassad Thado who was arrested by the Manipuris be released in exchange of the six Manipuri Sepoys. Not being satisfied with the outcome of the exchange proposal the 'Chassad Thados' raided on a village under the influence of Manipur Maharaja and killed 45 people with 3 persons taken as captive in February, 1884".

V. MACKENZIE'S CHAHSAD CHIEF, HAOKIP THADO NBA

In confirmation of otherwise of what Mackenzie said of the

Chassad Thadou as Piba of Haokip, we may examine their genealogy, supplied by Pache, chief of Chahsad on 20 June, 1926 in Ukhrul to Mr. L.L, Peter, the first Sub/Divisional Officer, Government of Manipur.

(a) THE HOUSE OF HAOKIP: (20-6-1926):

SEHTHA begets Thadou, Chongloi and Hangsing;

THADOU begets Thaihun;

THALHUN begets Elmun (by first wife), Kipgen and Haokip (by second wife).

HAOKIP begets Thangging and Shingshei;

THANGGING begets Tung-you;

TUNG-YOU begets Telthang and Tellang;

TELTHANG begets Gingphung;

GINGPHUNG begets Thanglun, Sanlut, Sanchong and Telsing;

THANGLUN begets Phungdou, Phungsong and Telsong;

PHUNGDOU beget Lholha;

LHOLHA begets Doungul;

DOUNGUL begets Thangkhup;

THANGKHUP begets Hangthang (extinct) and Douvum;

DOUVUM begets Khupjam and Manhong;

KHUPJAM begets Khovum;

KHOVUM begets Jammang and Selson;

JAMMANG begets Jamkhotintong;

JAMKHOTINTONG begets Lhukhomang, Kamjadem and Kamjahen;

LHUKHOMANG, alias PACHE, Chief of Chahsad begets Tongkhothang.

There is slight discrepancy in the generation after Khupjam. Nehlam, the most well-known Chief of Chahsad, the son of Khupjam, who had been treacherously murdered by the Maharajah of Manipur in his palace seemed to have conveniently been omitted in the counting of

heads of the Chiefs. Consequently so, the name of Tonglhu, the son of Nehlam and the uncle of Pache. According to Col. W.G.H. Cole, Political Agent, Manipur, vide his letter dated the 1 7 March, 1917, Pache succeeded his uncle Tonglhu chief of Chassad Village in 1915 (about two years ago). He lived most of his life in the unadministered area of Somra Tract and also according to J.C. Higgins, ICS, Political Agent, Manipur, vide his letter No. 705 M.S. dated 24/25-11- 1917, the name of Pache' s father was Sempu, alias Lamkhotinthong, Chief of Thangbu Village, located in the unadministered territory south of Somra, and head of all the Chassad Thado Haokips across the border of Manipur.

This does not, however, reflect any doubt to the legitimacy of Pache succeeding Tonglhu, the chief of Chassad. As the nearest nephew of Tonglhu in the absence of his own male offspring as per custom of the Thadou, Pache was the rightful and only legitimate nephew of Tongihu to succeed him so as to perpetuate the male line of the Piba of the Haokip Thadou. The only question for consideration was that the names of Nehlam, and, for that matter, that of the name of Tongihu after whom Lhukhomang, alias Pache, must have been given his name as per Thadou custom must on no account be totally obliterated on the one hand, and that of the name of Lamkhotinthong, alias, Sempu, on the other, should not be brushed aside in the genealogical tree of the House of Haokip.

In this connection it has to be noted that Social Structure of the Thadous is strictly regularized by the recognition and regard paid to the senior lineal descent annually. Social expression of such relationship is manifested most appropriately in payment of 'Sating' to the senior lineal head by the junior lineal head. An interesting incident occurred in this regard at Imphal soon after return of the Thadou Chiefs from exile in Sadiya when they were defeated by the British in the Anglo-Kuki war, 1917-1919.

It so happened that on their arrival back home from Sadiya, Pache (Lhukhomang), Chief of Chahsad, in fulfillment of his customary obligation as per structural function, presented a British made COAT to Kilkhong (Khotinthang), Chief of Jampi in 1921 in lieu of 'Sating', tribute paid to 'Upa' that was long over-due. However, after some days, one morning, in Imphal, one Thongam Doungel, probably, the

younger brother of Chengjapao, who was coincidentally in Imphal took it unceremoniously and wore it saying that he would take the same as 'War trophy', despite advice not to do so, Thongam insisted wearing the coat with an excuse that he would take the same, Kilkhong being 'hero' of the War and walked out of the room., Kilkhong filed a Miscellaneous Case against Thongam for his contemptuously unbecoming conduct. President of the Manipur State Darbar heard the case and decided in favour of Kilkhong, with a penalty of Rs. five to Thongam for his deliberate act of defiance against age-old tradition of tribute-payment to the senior as shown by Pache, the Chief of Chassad.

The consanguineous relationship by customary law established is manifested in the hierarchical order of seniority maintaining the order of family-wise precedence of lineal descents. Therefore, structural base of the Thadou society without Chongloi, Hangshing and Kipgen is incomplete being of the same progenitor as could be seen from their genealogical tree from Chongthu to Thadou as given hereinabove.

(b) THE HOUSE OF CHONGLOI (18-09-1926)

Sehtha BEGETS Thadou, Chongloi and Hangshing;

CHONGLOI begets Lutsong, Sandou, Haocheng and Loisei;

LUTSONG begets Chonghao, Chongmang, Chongvuh, Chongton and Thongtong;

CHONGHAO begets Gensei and Genthang,

GENSEI begets Holkip;

HOLKIP begets Manghil;

MANGHIL begets Kimkhup and Kimvuh;

KIMKHUP begets Holso;

HOLSO begets Khupkhopao (extinct) and Khup-en;

KHUPEN begets Lalihun and Laoman;

LALLHUN begets Vangdem and Mangsei;

VANGDEM begets Lhunpao;

LHUNPAO begets Kiphawl and Kilchal;

KIPHAWL begets Shehvung;

SHEHVUNG begets Challet;

CHALLET begets Vungjakim and Chungjam;

VUNGJAKIM begets Haojakhup and CHUNGJAM begets Lunja and LUNJA begets Jamminthang and Kimkhopao (extinct);

HAOJAKHUP begets Lunkhopao and Vunglun;

LUNKHOPAO is Chief and Head of the Chongloi living now at Jangnoi Village. Sadar Hills.

The above genealogy was supplied by LUNJA, the uncle of Lunkhopao, head of the Chongloi clan and Chief of Jangnoi, to the Government of Manipur on the 18 September, 1926.

According to Thangkhosei, Chief of Khengjang Village, Chongmang is senior to Chonghao, and as such, seniority of Chonghao is not recognized by the Junior lineages of Chongloi. According to him, legitimacy of the present head of the Chongloi clan is questioned. This information was furnished to the writer on 23 January, 1983. This piece of information is brought to the knowledge of all concerned without any prejudice against any group of Chongloi or individual, but in the interest of academic exercise for younger generation. This will enhance credibility of the lineal structure and avoid future misunderstanding among the cousins primarily in payment of annual tribute called 'Sating'.

(c)THE HOUSE OF HANGSHING (19-09-1926)

Similarly, the genealogical tree of the Hangshing is as follows:

SEHTHA begets Thadou, Chongloi and Hangshing;

HANGSING begets Hangchut and Shongthang (A) see below:

HANGCHUNG begets Shonsit, Ningthip, Ninglun and Hangson (Mongkente);

SHONSIT begets Phutngul, Shonleng and Shonlhol (Tingbungte);

PHUTNGUL begets Kipneh;

KIPNEH begets Nehhen;

NEHHEN begets Nehkap;

NEHKAP begets Nanglang and Shongthem (extinct);

NANGLANG begets Kaplhun and Shongmang;

KAPLHUN beget Kaptho (extinct), Vunghel and Kapjang (extinct);

VUNGHEL begets Vumjakhup;

VUMJAKHUP begets Kapjavum;

KAPJAVUM begets Khupkholung(now lives in Jangnoi Village).

The source of this information is from the head of the Hangshing family of the Thadou clan. Kapjavum, Chief of Vongjang Village, to the Government of Manipur, on the 19th September, 1926. (A) above: SHONGTHANG begets Haomang (Bongjolte), Mangtong (Lhungtinte), Jasong and Tongkim.

Kapjavum, Chief of Vongjang Village, who was the resource person of the above genealogy of the Hangshing died as Dullen in the year 1965 after 39 years since he was able to record the above genealogy of genealogy as a live-document for future generations so as to make social structure of the Hangsing straight and correct without controversy.

(d) The House of Kipgen

I must admit with regret that despite my best efforts to provide the genealogical tree of the major lineages of the Thadous I cannot do so in the case of Kipgen House. So far, in details. Yet , their pedigree of being Thadou has abundance of evidence from the works of authorities on Thadou in the preceding paragraphs.

VI. GRIERSON'S THADOU: 1904:

Genealogical tree of the Thadou as constructed by McCulloch in 1857 having been proved as the correct version was used by Dr. Grierson, G.A, K.C.I.E., Ph.D.D, Litt., LL.D,ICS (Rtd.), in his book on " Linguistic Survey of India" (Vol.III: Tibeto-Burma Family, Part III: p. 351, 361 &383) in 1904 after forty seven years of p[ublication of McCulloch's work. Grierson is an eminent scholar and renown authority on language in both the academic and administratve worlds. He contended to say that-

"... it has become customary to use the term New

kuki to denote the Thados and their off-shoots... that Thado is the name of their original progenitor.... that in Manipur they are called KHONGZAIs and that they use this name themselves in conversation with Manipuris, whom they call Mei-lei (Meilhei)", and maintained that based on the finding of cMulloch, many other "... sub-tribes trace their origin back to Thado and his brothers....." and concluded to say that "....The Principal clans are the Shithlo (Sitlhou), Shingsol (Singson), Keepgen (kipgen) and Haukeep (Haokip), from which have sprung several sub-clans of smaller importance... that

(a) Thado-pao

Grierson, as expert and authority on language, included THADO in the Tibeto-Burma Group of Linguistic Family (1904:p 383: Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, Tibeto-Burman Family: Part III) saying that-

> "All these tribes, with the exception of Baite, speak the same language, and the dialectical differences are only slight. The language itself is, according to Stewart, Liet. R.(1857: A Slight Notice of the Grammar of Thado, published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXIV: 187-88) and Damant, G.H. (Notes on Manipuri Grammer and North Cachar Hills, published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol.XXIV: 173) called it THADO-PAO, Thado language."

Likewise, Hudson, T.C. in his book on Thado Grammar, Shillong (1906: p 17) and Soppitt. C.A. in his book on Grammer of the Rangkhol Language (1887: P 37), Shillong, expressed that the language spoken by descendents and their cognates of Thadou is called THADO-PAO. After a lapse of good many a year, Shakespear, J.. Lt. Col. (1912: P 178-79: Lushai Kuki Clans) said that –

> "... It is spoken by all the descendents of Thadou and by the non-Thadou clans absorbed in them."

And that 'Thado-pao' is the 'Lingua-Franca' among themselves.

In this regard, it may be relevant if letter No.KPM/37/198 dated the 11th, January, 1919 from Mr. J.C. Higgins, Political Agent, Manipur, addressed to Dy. Inspector General of Military Police, Anglo-Kuki War, 1917-19, in connection with the language to be used officially most understandable by the people in the areas between the Somra and Thongdut state of Burma, is brought to our attention, Higgins said,

> " Thado is the language of the Kuki tribes in general, and is intelligible to all the Kukis in the Somra areas and Thongdut State. I only know of one text book, a Thado Grammer, with Thado-English and English-Thado vocabularies attached, by Mr. T.C. Hudson. This is obtainable at the Assam Secretariat and at Thacker Spink's, priced Re.1/-. It is in Raman character ..."

He further opined that

> "The learning of the Tangkhul dialect spoken in the Somra will present very considerable difficulty, as it is an entirely unknown language..... The dialects throughout the Tangkhul country vary to a surprising extent even from the village to village. The Tangkhul dialects are not on the list of languages for which a reward is offered by the Assam Government, as no Officer has ever learnt them. They are quite distinct from both Manipuri and Thado."

Manipuri and Thado contain certain roots in common, but are quite distinct languages and knowledge of one does not enable a person to make himself understood by persons speaking the other. The Assam Government grants a separate reward to Officers passing in both. But Thado is closely allied to Lushai and a reward cannot be obtained in both these languages. It is also allied to the Northern Chin dialect.

(b) Thadou Population

Grierson also found in 1904 that the Thadou population was fairly large enough that tempted him to say.. "the Thado clan is a very large one" and accounted their number as follows:

1.	In Manipur	-	20,000
2.	In Naga Hills	-	5,500
3.	In Cachar Plains	-	5,400
4.	In Sylhet	-	534
		Total =	31,434

The above estimate omits members of the clan in North-Cachar Hills and in the unadministered tract between the Naga Hills and Manipur on the west and the Upper Chindwin district of Burma in the east. Allowing for these, we may safely conclude that the clan now numbers about 37,000 souls. The whole clan traces its genealogy to mythical hero who is believed to have dwelt below the surface of the earth and emerge therefrom to the surface of the earth through a cave known 'Khul', or 'Khur' equivalence of which among the Lushais and those living in the Lushai Hills (now called Mizoram) was called 'Chinlung'.

VII. SHAKEPEAR'S THADOU: 1912:

Fifty five year later, when McCulloch established the genealogical tree of Thadou in 1857. Shakespear, Lt. Col., J. (1912: 187-88: The Lushai Clans, Part-II) stated that-

> " After many enquiries I am quite of the same opinion and have found pedigress collected from various sources differ by slightly from that recorded by Colonel McCulloch"

and further stated that,

> "The four main families of Thado are the Doungel, Shithloh, Haokip and Kipgen. The Doungel are descended from Thado's elder brother and therefore are considered as rather superior to the rest of the families".

(a) Then why Thadou, not Doungel

Despite this, said Shakepear (1912:p188),

> " The reason why the clan has not been known by the name of Doungel is said to be that Thadou was a far greater warrior and killed more men, that Thadou was great in council and war, and that he retrived the fortunes of the family, and hence his name has been adopted by them. Thus Thado remains as the true clan name while Shithlo, Kipgen and Haokip are the names of the families, which are further sub-divided, as among the Lushais, into branches mostly named eponymously".

(b) Thadou custom and language adopted

Shakespear (1912:190) also said that "... among the Thados are found the remnants of many other clans, which have been practically absorbed, having adopted Thado customs and language. They are Lianthang (Lenthang) and his brother Thlangum (Lhangum), and Lunkim and his brother Changsan. The Changsans are sub-divided into eight families and are considered a clan of some standing, as is shown by the fact that Shithlos will only take wives from Shithlo, Changsan and Mangyel house-holds".

(c) To all intents and purposes Thado, being derived by people themselves

Shakespear further contended that

> "the following clans are not descended from the earth after the Thimzing episode. They are now to all intents and purposes Thado, most of them having even adopted the Sakhua (religion), or domestic sacrificial rites, of whichever family of the Thado clan they have attached themselves to".

The above mentioned clans not descended from Thadou are-

1. Kulho, 2. Shongte, 3. Kullon, 4. Thangneo(Thangneo), 5. Han-ngeng, 6. Hen-ngar, 7. Thangching (Thanging). Shongte and

Kullou are reported brothers, the former being the elder. They claimed to have emerged from Khulpi(Khul), Kulho, Thangneo and Han-ngeng were sons of Shongte.

Shakespear was also emphatic to say that the name of Thado was "... derived by the people themselves from "that" to "kill" and "doh" to "war" and that the term-,

> " New Kuki, which appears so often in the records, Cachar and Sylhet, in the middle of last century (19th Century), and which has been adopted by Dr. Grierson in the ' Linguistic Survey of India' may be taken as synonymous with Thado".

VIII. NICHOLAS' THADOU (1920):

Sir Nicholas D. Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in the proceedings of the Political Department, New Delhi, No.8856P, dated 27-9-1920 stated,

> "The Kuki rising of 1917-1919 (Anglo-Kuki War), which is the most formidable with which Assam has been faced for at least a generation, was confined entirely to the Thado...."

This was very clearly indicated by Mr. A.W. Botham., C.I.E., I.C.S., the Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his letter No.9242 P, Political Department Branch, dated the 5th October, 1920, on the subject matter addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, Delhi. Nicholas is correct thoroughly. If we look back to the Anglo-Kuki War, 1917-1919, it was Chengjapao, Chief of Aisan, who was termed by Hutton as the Head of Thadou; in the North-Eastern command, it was Pache, the Chief of Chassad, the Piba of Haokip Thado according to Mackenzie, in the Eastern Command, it was Pakang Haokip, the Chief of Henglep, it was Ngulkhup Haokip, Chief of Lonpi (Mombi) in the South Eastern Command and in the South-Western Command, it was Kilkhong, the Chief of Jampi, the Head of Sitlhou. They were the chief commanders. All leaders and their second-in-Commands were none other than Thadou.

IX. HUTTON'S THADO: 1928:

Hutton stoutly defended Chengjapao as the most legitimate claimant to the House of Doungel despite allegations from other Thadou clans that the male line of Doungel had become extinct and that the same was passed by default to a representative of slave perentage. He also defended superiority of Doungel over Haolai who claimed seniority on the ground that their progenitor was called 'elder brother' by Doungel.

(a) Thadou gave name to his tribe

While defending Chengjapao, Hutton realized that though the line of Doungel was senior to that of Thadou, the latter had ".. given his name to the tribe" and also confirmed the fact that "Kilkhong, alias Khutinthang, Chief of Jampi, the head of Sitlhou clan.. used to pay SHATTHING (Sating) to Chengjapao until the Kuki Rebellion".

Elsewhere Hutton mentioned that Kilkhong paid 'Shatting' to Chengjapao upto 1918, as per official knowledge of the Government of Manipur.

(b) No other term than Thado

Hutton was also found to have contended in his writing on the Thadou in the journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1928 to the effect that-

> ".. the THADOU HAOKIPs are said to use a word KHONGSAI for Thado... They also speak of themselves as THADO, and though this term may be taken to cover only descendants of that eponymous ancestor, it is generally used to cover all other clans now inter mingled with and closely associated with those descendants, though not actually claiming THADO as an ancestor, such in particular, are descendants of Lenthang and Lunkim, for whom, if they are not to be called THADO, there is no other distinctive term.."

X. THADOU; BURMAN TITLE:

Interestingly, a revelation of new phenomenon is about meaning of Thadou. According to Scott and Hardiman as found in their book on the Gazetter of Upper Burman and the Shan States I,II, p 147, the term THADO is a 'Burman title' to denote 'courage' or 'ability' to honour a person of fame and repute. It is the 'honorific title' of the younger brother of Doungel which probably over-shadowed his real name and ultimately obscured it totally.

With this, the myth that THADOU was the name of the progenitor of descendants of their eponymous ancestor called Thadou, the younger brother of Doungel, that built up the concept that non-Thadou races could not be brought under the fold of Thadou had been dispelled, henceforth, supposedly the exclusiveness aspect of Thadou allayed. It is no longer the exclusive possession of the descendants of the eponymous ancestor called Thadou as such has given his names to the descendants of legendary ancestor called Chongthu and all those who were of ancient races, withstanding the grueling torture of Thimjin episode and, intermingling and associating with descendants of Thadou, though not claimed to be Thadou and not of the people who claimed to have emerged from the bowels of the earth called Khul(R).

CONCLUSION

There emerges from the preceeding paragraphs clearly that –

(1) the term Thadou is the name of eponymous ancestor of descendants of Thadou who claimed to be descended from legendary progenitor called Chongthu;

(2) the controversies that almost wrecked the foundation of relationship between cousins among Thadous stemmed from strict enforcement of stringent principle of social structure based on respect and annual tribute paid to the senior lineal descent head being determined by regular male line of descent belonging to a single genealogical tree which must on no account be blemished resulting from questions such as non-issue of male child known as INGAM. Continuity of

generations of male line must perpetuate through procrastination by solemn-marriage in conformity with customary law which does not recognize illegitimate off-spring out of extra marital relationship, adoption, incestuous relationship within exogamous groups of people etc.. etc.;

(3) according to McCulloch (1857), Shithlo (Sitlhou), Shingsol (Singson), Chongloi, Hangseen (hangshing), Keepgen (Kipgen) and Haukeep (Haokip) are Thadou ".. from whom ag. , sprung many other clans junior in rank but numerous as themselves such as Chong foot (Chongphut), Tenoh (Telngoh), Mangvoong (Mangvung) etc., etc.,;

(4) as was asserted with finality, Dr. Hutton, J.H. (1928) while defending Chengjapao as the most legitimate claimant to the Doungel pedigree declared him not only Chief of the House of Doungel clan but also Head of the Thadou declared him not only Chief of the House of Doungel clan but also Head of the Thado;

(5) based on the findings of McCulloch, Dalton, E.T. (1872) confirmed peculiarity of Thadou characteristics and practice of purity as symbol of social status said, "Combs, perhaps these particular combs are very sacred things...";

(6) Dr. Grierson in 1904 said that having proved the genealogical Tree of the Thadous as constructed by McCulloch in 1857, the term 'New Kuki is synonymous with 'Thadous' and their 'off-shoots' who are otherwise called 'Khongjai' by the Manipuris whom the Thadous call as Meilei (Meilhei) and further said that the Principal clans of Thadou "... are the Sithlo (Sitlhou), Shingsol (Singson), Chongloi, Hangseen (Hangshing), Keepgen (Kipgen) and Haukeep (Haokip)...";

(7) Shakespear, J., Col., 1912 said that "... After many enquiries I am quite of the same opinion and have found

pedigrees collected from various sources differ but slightly from that recorded by Colonel McCulloch and that "The four main families of Thadou are the Doungel, Shithlo, Haokip and Kipgen. The Doungels are descended from Thadou's elder brother and therefore are considered as rather superior to the rest of the families", and gave reason as to why the Thadous have not been known by the name of Doungel as due to the fact that Thadou was a far greater warrior and killed more men and that Thadou was also great in Council and war. .

(8) Shakespear also said "... among the Thados are found the remnants of many other clans which have been practically absorbed, having adopted Thadou customs and language", and that "They are now to all intents and purposes Thadou, most of them having even adopted the Shakhua (indigenous religion) or domestic sacrificial rites of whichever family of the Thado clan they have attached themselves to";

(9) similarly, Hutton, J.H., who defended Chengjapao Doungel in 1928 as the most legitimate claimant to the office of Chief of Doungel clan admitted that Thadou "...had given his name to the tribe" and also confirmed that Kilkhong, Chief of Jampi, Head of the Sitlhou clan paid 'Sating' to Chengjapao till 1918 in expression of the latter being his senior in term of lineal descent and as also in token acknowledgement of respect paid to him which is customary in "bounden duty" for Thadous strictly confined amongst themselves;

(10) Thadous are spread all over the hills surrounding the Valley of Manipur as could be evidenced from the writings of Makenzie, A., in 1779, the renowned scholar and bureaucrat and as also by Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the former Chief Commissioner of Assam, who said that the Anglo Kuki War, 19 17-19 was confined entirely to the Thadous.."

(11) it was invariably correct that Higgins, J.C., the then political Agent, Manipur, concurrently holding the charge of Political Officer, Manipur, dealing with the Anglo-Kuki War, 1917-19 in coordinating between the civil authorities and the Army expressed regret to his inability to understand the Thadous in their right perspective that enabled them unite against the British that made him underestimate the Kukis. Later, he realized that it was due to their culture and tradition that bound the Kukis together that gave them strength to fight against the British.

This only suggests that when the Thadous are united the Kukis s a whole could do great things together in our contemporary socio-political scenario.

(12) combining together all the findings of authorities on the Thadous beginning from Col. McCulloch in 1857 down to Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell in 1945, the following categories of people are found to be Thadou. They are–

(a) descendants of Shingmeng, the son of Thangpi, begetting Titou, Touhin and Touthang, in the direct male descents from legendary ancestor, CHONGTHU, consisting of broadly –

(1) Doungel (including Lhotjim, Gwite, Thuomlhun and Haolai), whom Hutton had declared as Head of the Thadous, (2) Sitlhou, (3) Singson, (4) Kipgen, (5) Haokip, (6) Chongloi, (7) Hangsing, and (8) Touthang (Lamhao);

(b) descendants of Hangmeng, the younger brother of Shingmeng, in the second direct male lineal descents from legendary ancestor, consisting of (1) Kom, (2) Kilong, (3) Chiru, (4) Chothe, (5) Purum, (6) Koireng, (7) Koirao, (8) Misao, (9) Lupheng, (10) Lupho, (11) Ngoilu (Ngailut), (12) Tuboi, and all other Old Kuki groups not mentioned herein.

AND

(d) descendants of ancient races who are not of Chongthu pedigree but claiming to have lived over the earth's surface, enduring the trauma of torturous and grueling Thimzin episode before Chongthu and his party emerged from the bowels of earth (Khul or Khur) who have for all intents and purposes been absorbed and could as well be under the honorific 'Burman title', called Thadou, meant for persons of fame and repute. They consist of (1) Lhangum, (2) Thangeo, (3) Lunkim, (4) Changsan, (5) Lenthang. They claimed to have not belonged to the descendants of Chongthu and have not been bound by the system of payment of 'Sating' to any of the above groups of clan at (a) and (b);

(13) Lastly but not the least, the term 'Khongjai' was found first to have been used by the Haokip Thadou 'for Thado'. They also speak of themselves as 'Thado' and though this term, 'Khongsai', may be taken to cover all other clans, not actually claiming 'Thado' as an ancestor, 'Khongsai' originally and precisely is used to denote 'Thado' "... who are the cream of 'Khongsai' par excellence, the male descendants of Thado.. ", according to Hutton, Dr., J.H. 1928.

Having said and done without any prejudice against anyone, the findings and contentions on the subject matter are open for pragmatic and objective academic exercises for benefits of young intellectuals, administrators, anthropologists, sociologists and policy decision makers.

Notes & References

1 Firth, Raymond., *Human Types*, New York, Mentor Book, 1985, P. 95.

2 McCulloch, M., *Valley of Manipur*, Govt. of Assam, Shillong, 1857, Pp. 56-57.

3 *Ibid.*

4 This contention is not accepted by Hutton, Dr. J.H. Hutton and is refuted as given separately herein below in details.

5 Hutton, J.H., *Footnotes on Thadou Kukis*, ..., 1928.

6 I have, therefore, added in the genealogical tree one generation above Thadou beginning from Sehtha who begets Thadou, Chongloi and Hangsing.

7 I have therefore added in the genealogical tree one generation above Thadou beginning from Sentha who begets Thadou, Chongloi and Hangsing.

8 Supplied by Tungjaseh at Chongchin Village on 22/06/1927 and recorded by William Shaw, SDO, Tamenglong

9 Supplied by Mangpu and recorded by Gasper, SDO, Churachandpur, while Mangpu gave the genealogy, Ngullen of Khongjang village was present and luistened to them on 15/5/1927.

10 It is learnt from most reliable source that since all the senior man of the clan have died without leaving HEIR both from the sides of GOUPI and his junior lineages Lukhotithang and Mangpu, a search was made to inherit the house of SINGSON, and as per official order of the acting President of the Manipur State Darbar, Mr. Duncan, a bastard of a senior lineage of Govakot village, named Paojalun, was declared installed as Head of the Singson clan. PAOJOLUN begets LENKHOKAM who married the eldest daughter of Jangkhothang Singson, Rtd. Lambudar, Government of Manipur. He and his entire family members including his villagers fled the village during the Thadou-Hmar conflict in 1960 and settled at Bethel village, Churachandpur wherefrom he died leaving two sons, whose whereabouts are unknown.

11 Dalton, Edward Tuite, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Cosmos publications, 1872 (rp. 1978).

5

SAWM: A TRADITION OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AMONG THE KUKIS

INTRODUCTION

'Sawm' is literally the meaning of 'bachelor dormitory' among the Kukis. It has, however, a deeper significant underlying purpose than superficially implied to mean. It is not a mere 'dormitory' or 'abode' of the youth as it physically represents. While nature of hostility and practice of inter-tribal feuds necessitate existence of this institution primarily on the one hand, it is indeed imperative and crucial that the youth, the 'marginal man', has to be shaped and brought up into responsible adult member of the society on the other.

Obviously, the mind-set of the elders to project their youth is to assimilate them to its cherished traditional form of social mores and values. In doing so, the elders believe that perpetuation of traditional legacy could only be imbedded and established in the developing minds of their youtn through concrete measures. However, being seriously handicapped with the absence of formal education and teaching as super temporal method, indispensability of the role of family has to assume an effective instrument to educate their youth. Thus, despite all sorts of weaknesses and inadequacies to adopt such effective means as collective mechanism, a substitute in the institution of 'Sawm' is found as the best alternative. This, in fact, enables the family and the society to constitute a symbiotic whole and to function in complete

reciprocity through the institution of 'Sawm'. Hence, the youth, 'a marginal man', who desperately requires to be shaped into a 'mature adult' through vigorous processes accepts the institution of 'Sawm' without demur. And this is what the institution as such with all its corporate living and functional activities succeeded in imparting non-formal education in Kuki society

STRUCTURE

Sawm as the name suggests is dormitory type of modern structure of 'hostel' of an educational institution. It is invariably located almost at the central place of the village and is in closest possible proximity of the residence of the Chief. The size of Sawm varies as per number of village population so as to accommodate all the young men and boys who are eligible to join the Sawm. It is constructed by the village community with free labour contributed by male members of the village at the command of the Chief of the village. The frontal portion of the Sawm is provided with open platform as varendah that leads to entrance door of the 'Sawm'. Inside the Sawm, a central portion is set apart for the Sawm fireplace. Floor of the Sawm is essentially ensured to be strongly built so as to be fit for various activities of the Sawm members in their most frequent pastimes, such as, to engage themselves in wrestling and other indigenous items of games and gymnastic feats, etc. At the back portion of the Sawm, there is a raised platform of about six feet wide and one foot high elevated from the floor covering the whole breadth of the Sawm as its length. On this platform, the young members of the Sawm often sit together to witness gymnastic feats, wrestling bouts, gossiping, talking about their love affairs, etc. This platform is also converted into sleeping place or bed in the night. The 'Sawm' complex is, as a matter of fact, a multi-purpose structure where any social event of large scale magnitude that attracts a multitude of gathering is to take place.

FUNCTION

'Sawm' is no doubt basically meant for the sleeping place of members thereof. Yet, it is invariably used as club of the youngmen where they might as well organize activities, or, take counsel with one

another for undertaking any joint enterprise. 'Sawm' functions also as travellers' Inn for the weary ones, passing from one village to another as also a place from where necessary vigilance is continuously maintained to ensure safety of the village. The 'Sawm' members are required to take turn for their daily chore of activities in various duties for which 'Sawm' is responsible.

In the backdrop of inter-village and inter-tribal rivalry, 'Sawm' is a very important functionary in the administration of Kuki Villages. In times of emergency the services of all able-bodies men can be mobilized and made their services available at short notice. They have to offer their free and compulsory services to the village especially in defending from external dangers. In times of peace 'Sawm' members render every possible service to the village community whenever required, apart from being an institution of learning and place of recreation.

In the 'Sawm', younger members are taught all sorts of things from cutting jokes to taking responsibilities. Elder members tell stories and sometimes topics ranging from girls to War become subject matters of great interests. This institution is also concerned with the 'Thih-kheng' (blacksmith) office because the efficient mobilization of the village youth in times of external danger and building of self-sufficient economy of the village in times of peace depend mainly upon the ability of the village Thih-kheng to provide weapons and other warfare materials and agricultural implements for land cultivation.

Above all, 'Sawm' is a place of 'learning'. In the 'Sawm' stays boys of different age-groups who are assigned various jobs and sundry cores. The boys of younger age-groups learn knowledge from the older groups. They also learn social customs and manners. It serves as an institution of learning discipline and other essential characters and mannerism necessary for the youth who are 'marginal men' to attain adulthood. Members of senior age-group of 'Sawm' are so attached to it in that some of them find it difficult to do away with the habit of being in the midst of Sawm members even after their marriage. So they continue to sleep in the Sawm even when they have two to three children

SAWM DECENTRALISED

Thus, young boys of the village concentrated at a place for emergency services traditionally have now assumed altogether a different characteristic in the form of decentralization in its structure and function. The legend in this connection runs as follows:

There was a time when every tribe was scared of the Pawis (Lakhers) because of their ferocity in warfare. But the Sitlhou Chief of Jampi village, the head of all the Sitlhou clan of the Thadous, arranged things in such a way that he and his collateral brothers must not move out from their place for fear of the Pawis. He asked his younger (Junior) collateral Chieftains of Lhungtin and Aiyang villages belonging to the Hangsing and Chongloi clans to remain in their present villages on condition that he as a senior collateral cousin would remain together with them. So, the three villages forming a confederacy remained in union where they were based. How, having stood their ground unitedly, Lhungtin and Aiyang villages acting as buffers between the Pawis and the Jampi village, became the thorn in the flesh to the Pawis, who could no longer stand in the face of such combined force of the three confederate villages. In order to relent the situation and with a view to living side by side in peace and amity, the Pawis sought for the concurrence of the Jampi Chief to pacify his junior collateral two cousins of Lhungtin and Aiyang Chiefs. As a token of peace and amity of the proposed pact, the Pawi Chief came to him pleading that the Pawis were no longer able to live in peace because of fear for 'your brethren Singhans (Hangsings). Please be kind and pacify them and ask them not to trouble us any more, so that we all might live in peace as good neighbours'. In proposing such a peace pact with the three collateral brethren Chiefs, the Pawis brought two shields to be used in front and back, called 'Lun Le Phaw' (Shield) in battlefield, one big type of bead, called Khi-Chong', one spear known as 'Tengcha', to the Chief of Jampi. It was obvious, when one came with such a peace and goodwill mission that the proposal was difficult to turn down. Therefore, accepting the proposal of the Pawis in good faith, the Chief of Langtin and Aiyang villages relaxed and were at peace with the Pawis. Obedience and veneration to the senior Chief were the mode of life in those days. Thus, when senior collateral Chief advised them to stand

down, there was nothing but to abide by his wishes, which they thought to be in their best interest. Accordingly, the Pawis also ceased their hostility towards the three villages. But this happened to be a lull before the storm and it lasted only for the first year. Believing in what superficially appeared as being reality of the situation with complete cessation of arms hostility on the part of the Pawis, the three collateral cousin Chiefs became complacent with over-relaxation.

On the other hand, the Pawis had been surreptitiously planning to attack the Lhungtin village by surprise. It so happened that one night, when all the able-bodied youngmen of Lhungtin village slept in their dormitory or Sawm, the Pawis stealthily came and butchered them, killing instantaneously as many as eighty able-bodied youngmen. As a result, the Hangsings were scattered and fled in different directions. Most of them were found to have settled down among the Paites. The one that gave a serious impact besides all other repercussions was that the institution of 'Sawm', which was centralized, took the character of a scattered form in consideration of necessity for defensive strategy. Such a different form of 'Sawm', though it still continues, exists on small scales at different houses where there are girls to look after the members of that particular 'Sawm' in her parents house.

CONCLUSION

With the dawn of Western education where formal education takes its hold, importance of non-formal education through 'Sawm' membership has become less important though the institution as such continues to exist.

6

TRIAL OF THE KUKI CHIEFS

MANIPUR

The military Operations against the Kuki Chiefs under General Sir Henry Keary were officially closed on 20th May, 1919. In the course of operations, one Kuki Chief, Ngulbul of Longya was killed in the battle at Lonpi Fort. The remaining ten Chiefs from Manipur along with three individuals in the persons of Ngulkhokhai of Chahsaad, Enjakhup of Thenjol village of Naga Hills and one Chinga Khamba Sana Chaoba Singh of Kumbi village were placed under trial as per Section 16 of Chin Hills Regulation III of 1818 for which C.C. Assam, Appointed[1] the Hon'ble Mr. W.J. Reid, Commissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts, a former Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills, and Mr. W.C.M. Dundas, Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract, to form an Advisory Committee to enquire into the charges against the above-mentioned Chiefs and individuals and to advise the Government in the case of each one of them whether it was necessary for the preservation of tranquility in the State of Manipur to place the individual under personal restraint, and in the case of each individual whose restraint was found to be necessary. In this regard the following factors were to be taken into account:

(a) what the nature of such constraint should be, i.e., whether it was necessary that the individual in question should be confined in jail or whether some less stringent form might meet the needs of the case;

(b) in what place each individual might most conveniently and

appropriately be confined;

(c) what was the least time during which the individual should be kept under restraint and not allowed to return to Manipur; and

(d) finally, whether if and when the warrior or prisoner in question is allowed to go back to Manipur, he should do so as a Chief or as subordinate member of his tribe.

As a preliminary to the investigations of the Advisory Committee against the Kuki Chiefs and other individuals concerned materials were recorded by J.C. Higgins and J.H. Hutton, the two Political Officers employed in the operations against the Kukis, and careful charges were drawn up against each of the prisoners, Mr. Reid and Mr. Dundas, besides going through the mass of recorded evidence against the prisoners, questioned the prisoners and ascertained what they had to say in their defence. They have submitted a full report on the case, giving their general views on the situation and making specific recommendations in the case of each individual. The Chief Commissioner has studied the case carefully and accepts in toto the recommendations of the Advisory Committee.

While forwarding recommendations of the Advisory Committee with his approval as mentioned above, Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam Province, Shillong, considered it not necessary to trouble the Government of India with the whole mass of papers and hoped that the views and recommendations of the Advisory Committee would enable the Government of India, more specifically, Governor General in Council to pass orders. He nevertheless expressed his strong observation to the effect that from the accounts given of the origin and early stages of the Anglo-Kuki War that "there was much to be said for the point of view of the Kuki Chiefs", and in spite of the horrible accounts (as disclosed by the evidence) of the vengeance, which they wreaked on the friendly villages, "it was possible to hold that they were more sinned against than sinning". He further observed that the British Columns marched through hostile country overcoming opposition and destroying many enemy villages and property, but they had killed or captured very few of the enemy and no Chiefs of

importance, while casualties on the part of the British were on the whole heavier than the enemy's.

The Chief Commissioner also agreed with the Advisory Committee that it was essential (to quote the words of Regulation III of 1818) for the preservation of tranquility in the territory of a Native Prince entitled to the protection of the British Government, that the leading Chief should be placed under personal restraint beyond the limit of the Manipur State until complete tranquility should have been restored. In this connection the Chief Commissioner desired to emphasise the fact that the Anglo-Kuki War was confined entirely among the 'New Kukis' comprising mostly the Thadous(Thados), with the Manhlun Kamhao (Manhlun-Manchong) clans of the Southern Hills and a few Baite Villages among the Mangvung Haokip Thadous in the Sourth-east of the Manipur State. Brutal outrages were committed by the Kukis on the loyal Kuki British subjects and in considering the punishments to be awarded to the hostile Kukis it was necessary to take into account the wrongs and resentment of the men who went to France and returned to find their friends and relations, harried, robbed, and murdered by the men who refused to go, or send men to the War.

In consideration of the facts mentioned above, the Kuki Chiefs were divided into two categories, such as, the Chiefs who were in the lower hierarchical order among the Chiefs who waged war against the British. In doing so Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, had long personal consultation with the local Officers and decided that such Chiefs should only be required to contribute by communal labours or otherwise, according to their ability, to the compensation due to their victims. The other category included who were on the higher hierarchy of the Chiefs with greater degree of influence and leadership in their respective areas of command. This category of Chiefs were placed under a 'special list' which was prepared by the Chief Commissioner on whose satisfaction that the list included all the Chiefs who should be essentially placed under restraint, and no more. In this list Ngulkhokhai of Chahsaad was included though not a Chief, but in consideration of the murder he committed being so outstanding and made such impression throughout the State that it was unadvisable to treat him as one of the ordinary crowd and dealt with

him merely by communal punishment. The choice was left with the Chief Commissioner, Assam, between restraining him under Regulation III of 1818 and leaving him to be tried by the State Court, and the Chief Commissioner preferred the former.

Webster (Para)[2] further said that –

One point which the attention of the Committee was specially directed was the terms on which each of the prisoners placed before them had surrendered. It was made known to the rebel chiefs in July 1918 that if they surrendered within two months bringing their house-tax and the number of guns estimated by the Political Agent to be in their possession, no one would be punished without a full and fair trial, while the lives and property of themselves and of members of their tribes would be spared. In September 1918, in compliance with instructions received from the Government of India, even more favourable terms were offered to certain chiefs, they being told that if they surrendered before the 1st November, bringing their licensed guns and the house-tax due from their villages, they would not be hanged or imprisoned, but would merely be detained in the Imphal Jail until the suppression of the rebellion. None of the rebels whose cases are under examination surrendered on these latter terms. The only 3 chiefs who surrendered before the 1st November 1918 were Chengjapao, chief of Aishan, Lunkhulal of Chengjiang and Khuthinthang of Jampi. Chengjapao surrendered to Lieutenant Parry on the 23rd of August, 1918 on the promise that his life would be spared and that his punishment would be reduced if he induced other chiefs to surrender. Khuthinthang surrendered on the 24th September in response to a letter sent out by Mr. Cosgrave, the Political Agent, through his messenger Ngulhal with a promise to Khuthinthang that if he surrendered and brought in 30 guns before the 1st of October his life would be spared and he would not be punished for any offences which he had committed except after a fair trial. Lunkhulal has since died in jail. The rest of the chiefs surrendered or were captured after the special offers had expired, and there is nothing in the conditions of the surrender of anyone to prevent his confinement under Regulation III of 1818 or his punishment for his crimes.

As stated in paragraph above, two of the questions referred to the Advisory Committee were (a) for what period each individual should be placed under restraint, and (b) what the place and nature of the restraint should be. As to the first of these questions the recommendations of the Committee in each case are set out below and are probably sound, but it is unnecessary to fix any time limit at this stage, for under Regulation III of 1818 no period of restraint is to be mentioned. Under section 8 of that Regulation the case of each person will come up for review at intervals of six months and the decision as to further detention or release will depend on the conditions for the time being of the Manipur State. The Committee had suggested that in every case the initial restraint should be in Dibrugarh or Tezpur jail. The Chief Commissioner accepts these proposals but considers that subsequently some place other than a Jail should in most cases be selected.

1. Chengjapao, Chief of Aishan: This man is the "piba" or head of all the Thado Kukis. The charges against him are as follows -

   (a) That he began to organize opposition to recruiting for the labour corps even before coolies were actually sent for, holding a meeting at which he killed a buffalo, and distributed its flesh, calling on other chiefs to resist recruiting, and to make was upon Government if necessary, using his position as senior chief of the Thado Kukis for this purpose, and afterwards attempting to obtain the co-operation of the Angami Nagas as well.

   (b) That he came into Imphal after the arrest of his uncle by Mr. Higgins and after being detained for a day or two was released in order that he might call in other recalcitrant chiefs, which he said he was able and willing to do.

   (c) That he visited Jampi, but failed to induce Khilkung to come in, and did not return to Imphal.

   (d) That he returned instead to his own village and migrated with it to Haijang near Lapvomi in the valley from which he had been ejected by the Deputy Commissioner,

Naga Hills (Colonel Woods), who forbade him to return.

(e) That he kept up communication with other rebels for joint action against Government.

(f) That at Haijang he maintained himself by looting neighbouring villages, and when a post was established at Lapvomi, he went out of his way to attach it (although the guard took no offensive action against him) and obtained the co-operation of Toljakhup and Laljashoung.

(g) That he stockaded himself at Haijang, and when ejected from there by the Lapvomi-Shilloi column in March-April 1918, he migrated to Vahong in the "cross-hatched area" where he fortified himself and continued raiding for supplies in the neighbouring Naga villages, in the course of which his men helped Tongkhulun of Chassad in perpetrating a horrid massacre at the Tangkhul village of Kasom, and also burned Challou Khunou.

(h) That when his village at Vahong was burned and destroyed by the Lapvomi guard, he surrendered to Lieutenant Parry at Tusom.

His defence was that he merely objected to sending labourers to France and did not join in the fighting until others began.

The Advisory Committee found that Chengjapao was the first chief to organize opposition to recruiting for the labour corps. He sent round the fiery cross among the Kukis and seems to have attempted to get the Angami Nagas to join. He denied having received the notice issued in December 1917 that no more recruits would be required for France and that the punishment would be mitigated in the case of chiefs who came in and surrendered; but the Committee found that a messenger was subsequently sent to him by Mr. Hutton informing him that labourers were not wanted for France, and inviting him to surrender, and that to this message Mr. Hutton received a written reply that Chengjapao would consult the Chassads before finally deciding. It is abundantly proved that Chengjapao took part in armed rebellion against the Government, but it is in his favour that he did come into Imphal and promised to call in other chiefs and to give coolies, and though he did

not carry out his promise, it appears that he did go to Jampi to see Khuthinthang. Eventually he surrendered, because, as he says, he was tired of running away. The Committee recommends that the minimum period, for which Chengjapao should be detained away from his country, should be 15 years. They consider that the first year of his confinement should be spent in either the Tezpur or the Dibrugarh Jail, and that thereafter, unless unforeseen complications arise, he might be kept under restraint at Sadiya or some other place in the North-East Frontier Tracts.

2. Khutinthang (or Khilkung), chief of Jampi, is the send chief in seniority among the Thado Kukis, and a man of great influence. The case against him is summarized as follows -

(1) That he resolved, after holding a council of the Shitlo chiefs, on not sending labourers to France, even before any Lambu had actually arrived to summon them, and on fighting against Government.

(2) That in pursuance of this resolve he killed a mithun and distributed its flesh to all parts of the Naga Hills (both to Kukis there and Khonoma) relying, to prevent recruitment recruiting and provoke resistance, on his position as the most important chief of the Thado Kukis (including the Dongel clan) and as the head of all the descendants of Thado including the Haokip, Kipgen, Chingchuan and other clans and sects.

(3) That he not only prevented other Kukis going to France, but also forbade Naga villages to send labourers, and deterred them from doing so by threats.

(4) That he attended the second meeting of chiefs at Teloulong, and appears to have been opposed to making peace.

(5) That he took part in the opposition to the Henima-Jampi column in 1918, (February-March), and compelled various villages to give him supplies and provide guns.

(6) That he ordered, and was present at the burning of Senting village in revenge for the chief's not having joined the rebellion. At Senting village 29 children died

as a result of exposure consequent on the houses being destroyed in the rainy season. Moreover he carried off the chief's son and held him to ransom.

The Committee found that he was one of the earliest to organize opposition to the orders of the State and of Government. His main defence was that at the time of his surrender he had been promised that his life would be spared, that he would not be imprisoned, and that his property would not be diminished. The Committee, however, found that Mr. Cosgrave's messenger Ngulhao followed his instructions fairly closely, and that what he told Khuthinthang was that if he surrendered in October with 30 guns (including Tintong's guns), he would not be hanged or sent across the "Kalapani". It is not proved that he was given any promise that he would not be put in jail

The Committee consider that Khuthinthang's influence and position render it necessary for the preservation of tranquility that he should be kept under detention for a period which should not be less than 15 years, that, as in the case of Chengjapao, the first year's detention should be spent in either the Tezpur or the Dibrugarh jail; and that thereafter he might be kept under restraint at Sadiya or some other place in the North-East Frontier Tracts.

3. Pachei alias Illukhumang, chief of Chassad: The charges against him are as follows -

   (1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for the Manipur Labour Corps.

   (2) That he killed mithun and sent round flesh with this intent and threatened villages willing to send coolies.

   (3) That he instigated other chiefs to join in an armed rebellion against the Government, and kept up communication with them to this intent.

   (4) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

   (5) That he collected arms with the intention of making armed resistance to the forces of the Government.

(6) That he prevented chiefs willing to surrender from doing so.

Pachei is shown as the fifth chief in seniority among the Thados, but unquestionably exercises far greater influence and authority than this would imply. The evidence against him and his own statement show that he played a prominent part in the rebellion, and the Manipur officers regard him as having been throughout the most important of the rebels. He surrendered on the 5th March on the promise that his life would be spared. Before the Committee he admitted his guilt and said he was prepared to accept any punishment that was awarded to him. He at first denied that he had been told at an early stage in the rebellion that coolies for France were no longer wanted, but he had to admit that messengers went to his village on two occasions. The Committee are satisfied that the messengers carried the information and they do not accept Pachei's assertion that he was ill and did not himself see the messengers or learn what message they carried. When he did surrender, he neither brought in the sixty guns which he had been ordered to produce, nor paid the house-tax which had been demanded.

The Committee advises that he should be kept under restraint for a period of 20 years, that as in the case of Chengjapao, the first year of the period of detention should be spent in the Tezpur or the Dibrugarh jail, and that thereafter he should be detained somewhere in the North-East Frontier Tracts. It is found in his favour that he promised to collect coolies to go to France and would not allow his followers to kill anyone.

4. Pakhang, chief of Hinglep: The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for the Manipur Labour Corps.

(2) That he instigated other chiefs to join in an armed rebellion against the Government, and kept up communication with them to this intent.

(3) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(4) That he prevented chiefs willing to surrender from doing so.

(5) That he raised men from the surrounding villages to take part in raids north of the Silchar road.

The Committee finds that he is a leading chief among the Haokips and took a very prominent part in the rebellion. Before them he candidly confessed his misdoings, and laid the blame on Chingakhamba Sana Chauba.

The Committee recommends that Pakhang should be kept under restraint for a period of 15 years, and that, as regards the place and manner of his detention, his treatment should be similar to that recommended in the case of Chengjapao.

5. Tintong, chief of Laiyong: The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That, though apparently not present at Khilkungs meeting at Jampi, he nevertheless agreed with the other chiefs to refuse to send coolies to France, and in particular prevented other villages from sending coolies, and took the lead (with Lunkhulal) in refusing them at the Oktan meeting.

(2) That after the meeting with Mr. Higgins at Oktan and in particular after the burning at Mombi, he made up his mind to fight. He also attended the second meeting of the Jampi area chiefs at Teloulong.

(3) That he passed on the dao sent as a sign for the cutting of the telegraph sires. In pursuance of this intention he came over to the Naga Hills with Enjakhup to see what could be done there by way of getting help from the Kukis there and Nagas.

(4) That he was present as a leader at Chengjang, Teloulong, Haipi, Jampi, Dulin, Tama, for the purpose of fighting against Government.

(5) That he raised a force of men which he armed and trained in order to fight against Government, and that

he used them for that purpose, taking supplies and guns where he could get them.

(6) That during the rains of 1918 he crossed the Barak to collect provisions and guns and raided and collected guns to the west of that river.

(7) That he afterwards raided attacked and burnt Naga villages to revenge their destruction of Notjang, and to provide his men with food and guns, taking guns from Kuki villages also.

(8) That he again fought against Government in the operations of 1918-19.

The Committee founds that Tintong is an important Haokip chief and took prominent part in the rebellion. His main defence was that he was driven to make war by the burning of Ukha (which he appears to have confused with Mombi) within two months of his meeting with the Political Agent at which the Kuki Chiefs offered money in lieu of men. He admits having burnt Naga villages, but says he did not do so till the Nagas had killed Kukis. Before the Committee he admitted having rebelled, and suggested that if his dealings had been with European officers and not with Manipuri subordinates, he would not have acted so foolishly. He complained that it was impossible for him to get access to any Saheb.

The Committee advised that he should be kept under restraint for the period of at least 15 years, and that the mode and place of detention should be the same as in the case of Chengjapao.

6. Semchung, chief of Ukha : The charges against him are as follows-

(1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for the Manipur Labour Corps.

(2) That he instigated other chiefs to join in armed rebellion against Government and kept up communication with them to this intent.

(3) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(4) That he collected arms with the intention of making armed resistance to the forces of the Government.

(5) That he prevented chiefs willing to surrender from doing so.

The Committee finds that Semchung is an important chief in the south of the State, and that he was prominent in the rebellion. Before Mr. Higgins he admitted his complicity and blamed Chingakhamba Sana Chauba for giving him bad advice. When questioned by the Committee, he said that he had nothing to add. He said that the people of his village had died and he supposed that he being an old man would now die in confinement. He realized the folly and wickedness of which he had been guilty.

The Committee says that Semchung is an old man, but he gave them the impression of being irreconcilable. They recommend that in his case the period of detention and the mode and place of it should be the same as in the case of Chengjapao.

7. Ngulkhup; chief of Mombi: The charges against Ngulkhup are as follows-

(1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for the Manipur labour Corps;

(2) That he forcibly prevented villages willing to send coolies from doing so.

(3) That he instigated other chiefs to join in an armed rebellion against the Government, and kept up communication with them to this intent,

(4) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(5) That he collected arms with the intention of making armed resistance to the forces of the Government.

Ngulkhup is an important Mangvum chief, who, according to Mr. Higgins, was to a considerable extent, under the influence of his cousin Ngulbul, who was killed in the course of the operations. In his defence Ngulkhup endeavoured to evade all personal responsibility, but when questioned by the Committee, admitted that his tribesmen did

obey his orders and that he ordered them to make war though he himself ran away. He maintained that he was not aware of the reasons which led the Political Agent to burn Mombi, but in the end admitted the folly and wickedness of which he had been guilty.

The Committee recommends that he should be placed under restraint for 15 years, the mode and place of detention being the same as in the case of Chengjapao.

8. Leothang, chief of Gebok: The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for Manipur Labour Corps.

(2) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(3) That he collected arms with the intention of making armed resistance to the forces of the Government.

(4) That he sent his men to raid Mahou Tonshen,

(5) That he prevented other chiefs willing to surrender, from doing so.

Leothang is a half brother of Ngulkhup, his mother not being of a chief's family. Before Mr. Higgins he admitted that he took part in the meeting of chiefs and that he decided not to send coolies to France, as they would die there. He admitted also having joined in the rebellion at Sana Chouba's instigation, and having collected guns and being himself present at the fighting. This person was unable to appear before the Committee, but Ngulkhup assured the Committee that Leothang had nothing further to say.

In view of the admittedly inferior social position of Lauthang the Committee consider that the period of his detention need not exceed 7 years, the mode and place being the same as in the case of Chengjapao.

9. Heljashon, chief of Loibol: The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That he organized opposition to recruiting for the Manipur Labour Corps.

(2) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(3) That he collected arms with the intention of making armed resistance to the forces of the Government.

(4) That he raided friendly villages.

A point in his favour is that he wished to surrender after the 1917-18 campaign in the rebellion he was responsible for several bloodthirsty raids on Kabui villages. In view, however, of his comparatively minor importance the Committee considers that it will suffice if he is kept under restraint for a period of 7 years, the mode and place of his detention being the same as in the case of Chengjapao.

10. Mangkhoon, chief of Tingkai Mangkhoon :The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(2) That he raided friendly villages.

(3) That he sent men to kill a Manipuri near Irengbam.

This man is a minor chief subordinate to Pakhang of Hinglep. He admits having joined the rebellion and having caused the murder of a Manipuri near Irengbam, because the Irengbam Manipuris had guided the sepoys when they first came to burn Tingkai Mangkhoon.

The Committee, largely in deference to the views of His Highness the Maharaja accept the suggestion of the local officers that Mangkhoon should be placed under restraint for a period of 5 years, and are of opinion that the whole or the greater part of this period of detention should be spent in the Tezpur or the Dibrugarh jail.

11. Ngulkhukhai of Chassad: The charges against him are as follows -

(1) That he took part in armed rebellion against the Government.

(2) That he deliberately murdered four Manipuri traders near Kangum in January 1918

Ngulkhukhai is not a chief but an ordinary Chassad Kuki, who took parting armed rebellion against the Government. The reason for his selection for inclusion in the special list of rebels to be placed under restraint is that he and another man murdered four Manipuris near Kangum. This murder (which is not denied) was committed in the course of the rebellion but was an outcome of an old blood feud due to the killing of Netlam, grandfather of Pachei, the present Chassad chief, under orders of the then Maharaja of Manipur. As has been stated above, this murder caused such a strong feeling in the Manipur State that, if Ngulkhukhai had not been placed on the special list, it would have been necessary to try him for the murder, and in all the circumstances of the case, it appears to the Chief Commissioner that he would more appropriately be dealt with in the same way as the chiefs who were responsible for the many murders of friendly hill-men.

Taking into consideration the personal views of His Highness the Maharaja and those of the local officers, the Advisory Committee recommend that Ngulkhukhai should be kept under personal restraint for a period of 5 years, and add that they see no reason why the whole or at least the greater part of the period of detention should not be spent in the Tezpur or the Dibrugarh jail.

Enjakhup: The case against Enjakhup is as follows: That he was a sepoy of the Naga Hills Battalion for over two years.

(1) That having run into debt he went over to the Manipur State in 1917, about the time when recruiting for the Labour Corps was in progress.

(2) That he then get into touch with Khikung of Jampi and Tintong of Laiyong, and interested himself in the question of Kuki coolies going to France. He then went to Imphal, where he was arrested for instigating opposition to recruiting.

(3) That being placed under open arrest he absconded and re-joined the chiefs of the Jampi area, and played a prominent part in the opposition to recruiting and in the Oktan meeting of September 1917.

(4) That he came with Tintong into the Naga Hills in order to further the cause of the rebellion, that he threatened the Henima Kukis with a view to prevent them helping Government, and tried to get Sailim to join the rising, as well as the Angami Nagas.

(5) That he returned to the Manipur State, where he took part in the resistance to the Henima-Jampi column 1917-18.

(6) That he organized and drilled a standing force of from 20 to 60 muskets to fight against Government and to raid the country for supplies and gins.

(7) That he organized, or helped to organize, attacks on the Dulin Guard and the burning of Senting village and of Dulin village, whose chiefs had surrendered to the Henima column.

(8) That he toured with 20 muskets west of the Barak in the rains of 1918 to collect supplies and guns.

(9) That he took an active part in leading his band in the war between the Kukis and Kabuis in the course of which many Kabui villages were burnt.

(10) That he took part in the fighting against the Government in the cold weather of 1918-19 up to the time of his capture.

Enjakhup is not a chief but an ex-sepoy of the Naga Hills Battalion, who got into touch with the chiefs of Jampi and Laiyong, and was instrumental in organizing their resistance. Before Mr. Hutton he tried to make out that he was really helping Government, but before the Committee he stated that he had joined in the rebellion because he was afraid of the chiefs who organized it. The Committee found it proved by the evidence recorded and the statements of several of the chiefs that Enjakhup's evil advice and perverted talents had much to do with the obstinacy displayed by many of the rebels. They consider that his misdeeds amply merit a life sentence of transportation of imprisonment, and think that he should be kept under restraint fort the term of his natural life. They advise further that for several years to come he should be detained in jail.

Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh: The case against this man is as follows -

(1) That he falsely proclaimed himself as the elder brother of the Maharaja of Manipur.

(2) That he instigated Kukis and others to make war on the Government with a view to establishing himself as Maharaja.

(3) That he visited Ukha with this object.

(4) That he circulated bullets and other articles with the intention of stirring up armed rebellion against the Government.

(5) That he senat a dao to Tintong, chief of Laiyong and Khuthinthang, chief of Jampi; another dao to Nulbul, chief of Longya and thence to Ngulkhup, chief of Mombi, and a third to Ngulbul chief of Longya and thence to Pachei, chief of Chassad, with orders in each case to make war on the Government and to cut the telegraph wires.

Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh is not a Kuki, but a Manipuri of the plains. The Committee find that though his name contains the appellation "Sana" which is usually confined to members of the royal family of Manipur, he is of common birth and no social position, and that he is merely an unscrupulous and clever adventurer, who saw an opportunity of bettering himself in troublous times.

Before Mr. Higgins Chinga Khamba denied the charges against him and said that he went to Ukha and stayed there for 3 days because he was mad, while before the Committee he challenged them to produce an eye-witness to any of his alleged crimes. The Committee, however, finds that the evidence on record and the statements of many of the chiefs leave no doubt as to the part which Chinga Khamba played in the rebellion. His claim to supernatural powers seems to have been readily accepted by the rebel chiefs, while the false stories that he spread about the straits to which the British Government had been reduced, greatly encouraged them.

The Committee was of opinion that Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh should never be allowed to return to the Manipur State.

They add that His Highness the Maharaja holds this view very strongly. They recommend that Chingakhamba should be kept under restraint for the term of his natural life, and that for several years at least he should be detained in jail.

As stated above, the Chief Commissioner agrees with the proposals made by the Advisory Committee, but considers that it is unnecessary at this stage to pass any orders other than that the 13 persons in question shall be placed under restraint under Regulation III of 1818. It appears desirable to keep the chiefs apart from the other prisoners and the Chief Commissioner accordingly proposes that the ten chiefs be confined for the present in the Tezpur jail and the other three prisoners in the Dibrugarh, as shown on the draft warrant appended to this letter.

The last question is as regards the terms on which these individuals should be allowed to return to Manipur if any when their return is permitted. The Advisory Committee report that the 3 Manipur officers selected by them were unanimous in holding that when any of the rebel chiefs is allowed to go back to his people, he must go back as a chief. Among the Kukis, they say, considerations of blood and heredity are paramount, and it is inconceivable that any substituted chief could continue to exercise authority if and when the rightful chief returned. This will be a most important consideration when it has to be decided whether any of the deported rebels can be allowed to return without imperiling the tranquility of the State.

The foregoing paragraphs are based on the report of the Advisory Committee. After the Committee had submitted their report the prisoners, other than Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba submitted a joint memorial, a copy of which is attached to this letter. A careful perusal of the memorial has not caused the Chief Commissioner to modify any of the conclusions at which he had already arrived. The memorial, however, states the case very clearly from the point of view of these twelve prisoners and confirms the Chief Commissioner in what he has already written, namely that it is quite possible to hold that these prisoners (or many of them) were more sinned against then sinning. It will be seen that the Kuki prisoners unanimously throw the blame on Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba, the Manipuri pretender. They took the

Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh: The case against this man is as follows -

(1) That he falsely proclaimed himself as the elder brother of the Maharaja of Manipur.

(2) That he instigated Kukis and others to make war on the Government with a view to establishing himself as Maharaja.

(3) That he visited Ukha with this object.

(4) That he circulated bullets and other articles with the intention of stirring up armed rebellion against the Government.

(5) That he senat a dao to Tintong, chief of Laiyong and Khuthinthang, chief of Jampi; another dao to Nulbul, chief of Longya and thence to Ngulkhup, chief of Mombi, and a third to Ngulbul chief of Longya and thence to Pachei, chief of Chassad, with orders in each case to make war on the Government and to cut the telegraph wires.

Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh is not a Kuki, but a Manipuri of the plains. The Committee find that though his name contains the appellation "Sana" which is usually confined to members of the royal family of Manipur, he is of common birth and no social position, and that he is merely an unscrupulous and clever adventurer, who saw an opportunity of bettering himself in troublous times.

Before Mr. Higgins Chinga Khamba denied the charges against him and said that he went to Ukha and stayed there for 3 days because he was mad, while before the Committee he challenged them to produce an eye-witness to any of his alleged crimes. The Committee, however, finds that the evidence on record and the statements of many of the chiefs leave no doubt as to the part which Chinga Khamba played in the rebellion. His claim to supernatural powers seems to have been readily accepted by the rebel chiefs, while the false stories that he spread about the straits to which the British Government had been reduced, greatly encouraged them.

The Committee was of opinion that Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh should never be allowed to return to the Manipur State.

They add that His Highness the Maharaja holds this view very strongly. They recommend that Chingakhamba should be kept under restraint for the term of his natural life, and that for several years at least he should be detained in jail.

As stated above, the Chief Commissioner agrees with the proposals made by the Advisory Committee, but considers that it is unnecessary at this stage to pass any orders other than that the 13 persons in question shall be placed under restraint under Regulation III of 1818. It appears desirable to keep the chiefs apart from the other prisoners and the Chief Commissioner accordingly proposes that the ten chiefs be confined for the present in the Tezpur jail and the other three prisoners in the Dibrugarh, as shown on the draft warrant appended to this letter.

The last question is as regards the terms on which these individuals should be allowed to return to Manipur if any when their return is permitted. The Advisory Committee report that the 3 Manipur officers selected by them were unanimous in holding that when any of the rebel chiefs is allowed to go back to his people, he must go back as a chief. Among the Kukis, they say, considerations of blood and heredity are paramount, and it is inconceivable that any substituted chief could continue to exercise authority if and when the rightful chief returned. This will be a most important consideration when it has to be decided whether any of the deported rebels can be allowed to return without imperiling the tranquility of the State.

The foregoing paragraphs are based on the report of the Advisory Committee. After the Committee had submitted their report the prisoners, other than Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba submitted a joint memorial, a copy of which is attached to this letter. A careful perusal of the memorial has not caused the Chief Commissioner to modify any of the conclusions at which he had already arrived. The memorial, however, states the case very clearly from the point of view of these twelve prisoners and confirms the Chief Commissioner in what he has already written, namely that it is quite possible to hold that these prisoners (or many of them) were more sinned against then sinning. It will be seen that the Kuki prisoners unanimously throw the blame on Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba, the Manipuri pretender. They took the

same attitude when the Chief Commissioner personally saw them in Imphal jail in the end of March, 1919. Chinga Khamba, when confronted with his accusers, assumed a sullen attitude and said little or nothing in answer to their charges. Even now he has submitted no separate memorial.

Warrants of placing the 10 chiefs and the 3(three) individuals in Tezpur Jail and Dibrugarh Jail respectively were accordingly issued in October, 1919 in pursuance of the decision of the Governor-General in Council as issued by the Secretary, Political Department, Government of India, Mr. R.E. Holland stating that whereas the Governor-General in Council for good and sufficient reasons has seen fit to determine that the Kuki Chiefs and the three individuals shall be placed under restraint at Tezpur/Dibrugarh Jail as the case may be, the superintendents of the two jails were required and commanded, in pursuant of that determination, to receive the said Chiefs and individuals in their custody and to deal with them in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 with the instruction that on the death of any Chief or individual prisoner, or when the Warrant otherwise ceased to be operative, the warrant thus issued was to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reason of its return. It further ordered that the special orders of the Governor-General in Council regarding this Warrant be asked on the first day of January in each year in the event of the warrant having been returned to the office before the above date.

On the other hand, it has to be recalled that the ten Kuki chiefs who were in the 'special list' – (1) Chengjapao, (2) Khotinthang, (3) Pache, (4) Ngulkhup, (5) Leothang, (6) Helashon (Heljashon), (7) Mangkh-on, (8) Tindong (Tintong), (9) Pakang, (10) Semchung and the two indivudial ordinary personalities, (1) Ngulkhokhai and (2) Enjakhup, applied a petition to the Comissioner, Surma Valley and Hill Districts, Mr. W.J. Reid, through the Deputy Commissioner, Naga Hills, Dr. J.H. Hutton, on the 18th May 1919, for pardon of the crime they were alleged to have committed by waging war against the British. The left thumb impressions of the twelve applicants were obtained in the presence of Mr. G.C. Das, Assistant Jailor, Kohima, on 18th May 1919

and countersigned by J.S. Rynjah, Superintendent of Jail, Kohima on the same day.[3]

In this connection, it is expedient to recall the fact that the Secretary of State for India, London, in his telegram, dated the 23rd (received on 27th) July, 1919 addressed to His Excellency, the Viceroy (Foreign and Political Department), Simla, India[4] had in no ambiguous terms made it clear that in passing judgment on Kuki Chiefs original causes of outbreak would no doubt be taken into account by the latter and invited his attention to the Secret dispatch No. 9, 8th March, 1918 stating, of course, that he did not wish to interfere with his discretion, but hoped that in all circumstances he would find it possible to deal with offenders leniently and further drawn his attention to the latter's Foreign Secretary's letter No. 88-M, dated 11th May, 1919. Pursuant to this, Major G.D. Ogilvie, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department conveyed decision of the Government of India on the subject matter to Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Shillong.[5]

In doing so, he referred to the letter No. 6310-P dated the 27th June (dispatched on 8th July), 1919, serial No. 1, pro. No. 4, from Mr. J.E Webster, C.I.E., ICS, the Chief Secretary of Assam and the telegram received as mentioned above from the Secretary of State for India, London. Based on these, the Government of India after careful consideration of all the circumstances attending the outbreak of War and taking into account also the inadequate provision made in the past for the administration of the hills, were of the opinion that, while it was no doubt necessary that the leading Chiefs should be placed under personal restraint beyond the limits of Manipur State until complete tranquility should have been restored, there were strong grounds for the exercise of clemency in matting out punishment to the Chiefs and other individuals whose cases were under disposal. The Government of India further said that they concurred the view of the Government of Assam that it was unnecessary at this stage to pass any orders other than the 13 persons in question should be placed in restraint under Regulation III of 1818, and they agreed that the ten Chiefs should be kept apart from the three other individuals but they were unable to accept in toto recommendations of the Advisory Committee in regard

to the duration and nature of the restraint to be imposed in each case. As was expressed by Mr. E.J. Webster, the Chief Secretary, Assam, it was unnecessary, in any case, to fix a time limit at the present stage, since none need be mentioned in the warrant to be issued under Regulation III of 1818, while under Section 3 of that Regulation the case of each person may be submitted for review at intervals of six months. In accordance with the instructions contained in Circular No. 2385, E.P. dated the 5th October, 1881,[6] recommendations regarding further detention or release were normally submitted annually with the return for the half-year ending the 31st December, but in the special circumstances of the present case, the Government of India desired that the recommendations might now be sent every six months, and instructed that suggestions might be framed on each occasion with a strong bias in favour of clemency and with reference not only to the behaviour of each individual while under detention but also to the circumstances and attitude of the tribe to which he belonged and to the charged conditions which it was hoped might be brought about by the improved system of administration introduced now in the hills.

The Government of India further made known that the cases of the ten Kuki Chiefs in Burma (Somra Tract) under the Government of Burma, who were dealt with under the Chin Hills Regulation, would be similarly reviewed every six months and it was desirable that there should be as little differentiation as possible between the treatment of the Chiefs in Burma and those in Manipur.[7]

As regards the nature of the restraint to be imposed, the Government of India were of opinion that the cases of the three individuals on the list, namely –

1. Ngulkhokhai of Chahsaad,
2. Enjakhup of Thenjol, Naga Hills,
3. Chinga Khamba Sana Chaoba Singh of Manipur

might be clearly differentiated from those of the ten Chiefs since the crimes they committee were more heinous and merit severe punishment, while extenuating circumstances could not be pleaded in the same degree. Therefore, these three persons were detained separately, though no fixed period of confinement was laid down for the time being.

As regards the ten Chiefs, the Government of India did not consider that detention in Jail would be appropriate in view of all the circumstances of the case and having regard specially to the fact that it was not proposed to imprison in any manner to any of the ten Kuki Chiefs who were being deported under the Chin Hills Regulation.

The Government of India, therefore, urged Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, the Chief Commissioner, Assam, that unless the latter did not have any strong objection, arrangement might be made to place the ten chiefs under close supervision in suitable localities, their radius of movement being limited, as might seem necessary in each case, without personal confinement. Together with this, the Government of India enclosed warrants for the three individuals separately addressed to the Superintendent of Jail, Dibrugarh dated the 9th October, 1919 as given below signed by Mr. R.E. Holland, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department to the effect that "Whereas the Governor-General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Ngulkhokhai of Chahsad, Enjakhup of Thenjol, Naga Hills and Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh of Manipur shall be placed under personal restraint at the Dibrugarh Jail, you are hereby required and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the persons above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor-General in Council and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818" and further stated that "On the death or release of Ngulkhokhai of Chahsad, Enjakhup of Thenjol, Naga Hills and Chinga Khamba Sana Chauba Singh of Manipur, or when this warrant otherwise ceases to be operative, this warrant is to be returned to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department, with a memorandum endorsed thereon to explain the reason of its return, and further ordered that the special orders of the Governor-General in Council regarding this warrant be asked on the first day of January in each year in the event of this warrant not having been returned to this office before the above date. The letters and warrant Orders referred to hereinabove were all endorsed to the Secretary, Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, for information to the Secretary of State for India, of His Majesty's Government, London.

In compliance with the decision of the Government of India as

communicated to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, vide their letter No. 4479-I.A. dt. 9th October, 1919, on the subject matter, Mr. J.E. Webster, C.I.E., ICS, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam[8] conveyed the actions taken to the effect that the Chief Commissioner, Assam being in favour of treating the cases of Kuki Chiefs with as much leniency as was consistent with safety, and gladly accepted the decision of the Government of India that it was unnecessary to detain the Kuki Chiefs in Jail. He was of opinion that the best place for the chiefs would be in the immediate neighbourhood of Sadiya. This was the headquarters of the Political Officer of the Sadiya Frontier Tract and of a battalion of the Assam Rifles. It was on the North bank of the Brahmaputra, far away from the Kuki country, and, though in the plains, was cool and healthy, and probably would suit the interned chiefs. It should be possible there to find some land for the Kukis to cultivate.

The Chief Commissioner, Assam, however, regretted to report that one of the ten Kuki chiefs, Semchung, Chief of Ukha (Loikhai), died recently in the Kohima Jail while awaiting the decision of the Government as to how should the Kuki chiefs be treated. He hoped that early orders might be issued, sop that the remaining nine chiefs might be removed to a place where they could enjoy greater liberty. The orders might restrict the surviving nine chiefs, viz, Chengjapao, Khutinthang (or Kilkhong), Pache, alias Hlukhomang, Pakhang (or Pakang), Tintong, Ngulkhup, Leothang, Heljashon and Mangkho-on, to Sadiya and a radius of 2 miles from the offices of the Political Officer. The Political Officer was instructed to prepare suitable quarters for the chiefs, and arrangements for their maintenance and supervision would be made in consultation with him.

However, as there was no clear indication as to the manner in which the warrants were to be addressed to the Political Officer, Sadiya, the Lieutenant-Colonel, H.E. Holland, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign and Political Department, Delhi, enquired vide his telegram dated the 20th November, 1919[9] from Mr. J.E. Webster, ICS, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam. The latter in his return telegram dt. 21st November 1919[10] replied that warrants should be addressed to the P.O., Sadiya.

BURMA

Similarly, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, in his telegram dated the 23rd (received on 27th) July, 1919 addressed to the Burma's authorities desired that in dealing with the Kuki chiefs in Burma for punishment, the original causes of the outbreak of the Anglo-Kuki War should be taken into consideration when passing judgment on them and that in all circumstances the Kuki chiefs might be dealt with leniently.[11]

The Secretary of State for India was more specific in his last paragraph of the telegram in that he expressed in no ambiguous terms that the Burma authorities should deal with the Kuki chiefs as was laid down in his telegram in his Secret Dispatch No. 9 dated the 8th March, 1918 which dealt with Kuki chiefs in Manipur[12] and wished that the Government of India to deal leniently with them both in Manipur and Burma.

The Secretary of State for India highlighted the fact that outbreak of Anglo-Kuki War was mainly due to the injudicious methods adopted by the local authorities in recruiting Kukis tribesmen for France which should no doubt be taken into consideration in dealing with the proposals which had been submitted by the Assam administration for the punishment of the Kuki chiefs in Manipur which were being dealt with in a separate file.[13]

In this connection, it needs to be understood that the case of Kukis from Burma was different from that of Manipur Kukis. The former had really no grievance against the Government but joined the War[14] simply out of sympathy with their brethren across the border and in token expression of clan loyalty as tradition and culture provided for.

The Secretary of State for India further said that in case the local Governments erred on the side of severity despite instructions, the Government of India was authorised[15] to act on the lines suggested by him in the telegram mentioned above. This view was endorsed to both the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India so as to checkmate temperance of the line of action as decided by the Secretary of State for India said Mr. Carter, A. M.L., in his note on

30th July, 1919. This was followed the next day, the 31st July 1919 by a telegram from the Government of India[16] by another telegram asking Mr. Street, Deputy Commissioner, whether recommendations of the case of ten Kuki Chiefs from Burma had been sent with the opinion of Lieutenant Governor on the matter.[17] Meantime, it should be noted that Mr. Street who enquired into the cases of ten Kuki chiefs from Burma had already submitted his findings along with recommendations of the local Government on the 26th July 1919[18] to the Government of India.

The Burma Government had propose[19] originally that similar arrangements should be made in Burma for the trial and punishment of the principal Kuki Chiefs concerned under the Chin Hills Regulation as in the case of the Kuki Chiefs concerned in Manipur against whom it had been decided to proceed under Regulation III of 1818. This course of action was agreed to, but the local Government reconsidered the matter and subsequently recommended that action should be taken under the Chin Hills Regulation 1895 in preference to action under Regulation III of 1818, and placed Mr. Street, Deputy Commissioner, on special duty with the power of a Superintendent under the Chin Hills Regulation, to enquire into the hostile actions of the ten Kuki Chiefs being proceeded against and reported the result of the enquiry to them for orders.

This procedure was approved[20] on the 6th May, 1919, but the Burma Government were asked, before passing final orders, to send up to the Government of India the tribunal's recommendations with their opinion in each case, in order to ensure reasonable measure of uniformity of treatment in the Assam and Burma Areas.

The Burma Government had by then complied with the above orders and forwarded the records containing Mr. Street's enquiries against the ten Kuki Chiefs concerned together with their recommendations in each case. It is unnecessary to wade through these rather voluminous records. The important document to read in each case is Mr. Street's report which shows the part played by each Chief in the War and contains his proposals as to the punishment to be imposed in each case. Mr. Street's recommendations are briefly as follows:

(1) Kamjadem – Deportation for a period of 5 years, which could be reduced later if circumstances permit.

(2) Tongkwalun – Deportation for a period of 5 years.

(3) Letkwatang – Placed in the same category as (1) and deportation recommended for 5 years.

(4) Semkwalun – Deportation for a period of 2 years.

(5) Zahlun – Placed in same category as (1) and (3), and deportation recommended for 5 years.

(6) Shuku - His release recommended now or at the end of October.

(7) Vumnul - Deportation for a period of 5 years, and to be handed over thereafter to the Manipur authorities.

Mr. Street further recommends that this Chief's son, Lunyanngul, with all his followers who came over with him from Manipur in 1918, together with those Kukis who moved into the Mawlvaipu group from the Aishan Kuki country last year, and who have now been settled down near Lamlai in the centre of the Somra Tract, be sent back to Manipur next open season, to settle wherever the Manipur authorities may decide.

(8) Haokwapao - Deportation for a period of 5 years.

(9) Notzang - Deportation for the same period as (8) viz., 5 years.

(10) Ngulkolun – Recommendation that the order of release in this case be confirmed and that no further action be taken.

The Burma Government, after consulting General Sir H. Keary on the recommendations made by Mr. Street, support the latter's recommendations as regards the Chiefs concerned in enquiries Nos. 1,3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 10, but recommend that in the cases of Tongkwalun (No. 2), Hawkwapao (No. 8), and Notzang (No. 9), each of the chiefs be deported for 10 years, as they consider that the 5 years' deportation recommended by Mr. Street in each of these cases does not give adequate punishment for their hostile acts and, having regard to the powers of Mischief which they are known to possess, fails to afford sufficient security for the future peace of the Somra Tract. In proposing

severer sentences for the above three Chiefs, the Local Government have apparently taken into account the fact that these men, who possess great influence over the Chiefs of the Dongul and Mawlvailup groups, were probably the instigators of the recent rebellion, besides being responsible in the past for raiding and the general disturbance of the peace of the tract. A lighter sentence of 5 year's deportation is considered sufficient for Vunmul, Chief of the Mawlvailup Kippins, who has admitted responsibility for the fighting this year, evidently out of consideration of his advanced age and because he did not take part in the original rebellion in Manipur when he lived there and was probably influenced by the other Chiefs in the group.

The sentences proposed in respect of these Burma Kuki Chiefs are on the whole not at all severe when compared with the[21] punishments recommended in the case of the Kuki Chiefs in Manipur. These latter rebelled because of the injudicious methods adopted by the local authorities in recruiting Kuki tribesmen for Labour Corps in France, whereas the Burma Chiefs had no grievance against Government which renders their action in taking up arms more inexcusable. But it was only natural that semi-savages such as they should make common cause with their brethren in Manipur who had a grievance, and, as pointed out by the Burma Government, due weight must be given to the facts that the Somra Tract had been unadministered until quite recently and that the Chiefs in taking up arms after first signifying submission acted largely under the influence of the Manipur Kukis. In all the circumstances, therefore, it does not appear advisable to deal more severely with the Burma Kukis than with their Assam brethren.

As regards the Assam leaders, who are being dealt with under Regulation III of 1818; it has been held that we cannot bind ourselves down to laying down fixed periods of detention in advance as recommended by the Committee, which tried them. Their cases are to come up for review every six months, and, in pursuance of the Secretary of State's wish that the offenders should be dealt with leniently, the Assam Administration is being told that the Government of India is averse to the detention of the majority of the leaders any longer than is absolutely necessary, and that there should be a strong bias in favour of clemency on each occasion on which their cases are sent up.

We asked[22] that recommendations for the punishment of the Burma Kuki Chiefs should be sent up to us with a view to ensuring a reasonable measure of uniformity of treatment as between the Assam and Burma leaders. It will hardly be possible to ensure this if the Burma leaders are deported for a fixed term of years while no fixed period of detention is assigned for the Assam Chiefs. But the Chin Hills Regulation under which the Burma Chiefs are being dealt with specifically provides for a fixed period of deportation, and it would appear to conflict with section 16 of that Regulation to instruct the Local Government to deport these men without fixing any definite period and to consider the question of their further detention or release every six months as in the Assam case. Moreover, the Burma Government strongly deprecate undue indulgence being shown the offenders at this juncture as being calculated to encourage wild Chiefs of this character to believe that risings may be undertaken without serious consequences to those who embark upon them. In the circumstances, the best course would appear to be to confirm the sentences recommended in each case by the Local Government, but tell Burma that the periodic *[23] examination of the cases of these chiefs should be made every six months and the result reported the confirmation by the Government of India, and add that on each occasion on which these cases are considered there should be strong bias in favour of clemency. In fact we may follow as closely as possible the lines of the orders, which are being passed on the Assam case. We may accordingly defer the issue of orders on this case until the orders on the Assam case have issued. On issuing orders on the letter under consideration, we may also approve the proposal to send back to Manipur Vumnul's son and the other Kukis who moved into the Somra Tract from that State in 1918, and tell Burma to arrange accordingly in direct communication with the Assam Administration.

R.S.B. – 15-8-1919;

K.F. – 18-8-1919

Mr. Street seems to have done his work with great thoroughness and in making his recommendations for punishment; he has certainly not erred on the side of severity. He has recommended seven chiefs for deportation for five years, one for two years and two for release.

These compare with the recommendations of the Assam authorities as follows: one for life, one for 20 years, six for 15 years, two for seven and one for five and in each case a period of detention in Jail is recommended, in no case for less than one year and in some for several years. In the Burma recommendations there is to be no detention in jail at all, but merely surveillance in places of residence selected by Government.

Indeed the criticism to which Mr. Street's recommendations lie upon is that he has not shown quite sufficient discrimination in the degree of guilt of individual Chiefs. It will be seen that the Burma Government consider that in three cases the sentences recommended by Mr. Street should be enhanced from five to ten years. I think the view of the Burma Government should be accepted. It is clear that they have given the most careful consideration to the case and have consulted General Keary who has presumably agreed with the Burma Government's recommendations.

With regard to the point raised in paragraphs 4 and 5 of office note about fixing a term of detention in advance, I do not think it is a matter of any great importance whether a term is actually fixed or not, but all the arguments seem in favour of a definite period and it is in accordance with the custom of courts to announce a sentence for a definite term. And it is well that the Chiefs themselves should realize that Government recognises their varying degrees of guilt. The importance point is that the sentences should come up for periodic review so that clemency may be exercised when this is desirable.

I would recommend that the sentences recommended by the Burma Government should be confirmed and their proposal for periodic examination, again with a strong bias to clemency should be approved. The suggestion made by the office that the Burma Government should consult Assam when making their future recommendations is a good one, said Carter, A.N.L. on 20th August 1919. While Mr. Bray Denys, endorsing the above, said that the desire of His Majesty's Government to treat the cases of Kuki Chiefs with leniency should be highlighted to the knowledge of the Burma Government, in his note dated 21-8-1919. Similarly, orders in respect of Kuki Chiefs of Manipur were approved by the Secretary, Political and Foreign Department, Government of

India, Mr. H.E. Holland on 27th August. 1919, as per Proc. No. 10 Foreign and Political Department; External-A. October, 1919, Nos. 7-12.a

---

Notes & References

1 *Letter No. 6310P dt. 27.06.1919 (dispatched on 8th July 1919) from J.E. Webster, ICS, Chief Secretary, Assam, Para 14, to the Secretary, Pol. Department (Lt. Col. R.E. Holland), Government of India*

2 *Letter No. 6310P dt. 27th June, 1919, Pol. Department, Mr. J.E. Webseter, CIE, ICS, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Para 17-34, addressed to Lt. Col. R.E. Holland, Secretary, Pol. Dept., Government of India.*

3 Enclosure No. 2, Pro. No. 4.

4 *Proceedings No. 112 in secret external, July 1918 No. 7 – 181*

5 *Letter No.4479-I.A. dt. Simla, 09-10-1919 from Maj. G.D. Ogilviie, Dy. Secy, GoI, F & Pol. Dept. to Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, C.C. of Assam*

6 *Pro. No. 267 in Pol. A., October, 1881, Nos. 263-267.*

7 GOI, *Letter No. 457-EB dt. 2-9-1919, Diary No. B and C 198. Ex. B.*

8 *Letter No. 9959-P dt. 13.11.1919 to the Secretary, Foreign and Political Department,* Government of India.

9 *Telegram No. 4861, dt. 20.11.1919.*

10 *Telegram No. 1029, dt. 21.11.1919*

11 *Foreign and Political Department, Ext. "A" Progs. October, 1919, Nos. 7-12.*

12 *Proceedings No. 112 in Secret E., July 1918, Nos. 7-131 corres.* P.36.

13 *Ibid.*

14 *The Burma Government Letter No. 901-P.2, C.2, dated the 25th February, 1919*

15 *Pro. No. 23 in Secret E. June 1919, Nos. 23-30, Corres.,* P.4.

16 *Letter K.F. 30-7-1919 from Mr. Carter, A. R. L.*

17 *Telegram to the govt. of Burma No. E. B., dt. 31.7.1919.*

18 *Telegram from Govt. of Burma 103-P dt. 26-7-1919.*

19 *Secret E. August, 1919, Nos. 54-156, Corres,* P.50.

20 *Secret. E. August, 1919, Nos. 256, E.B. dated 6-8-1919.*

21 *Vide paragraphs Nos. 19-31 of Assam-51-A Letter No. 6310-P., dated the 27th June 1919*

22 *Secret E., August 1919, Nos. 54-156, correspondence,* P. 52

23 Burma might also be told to consult the Assam administration on each occasion as to the situation in Manipur at the time.

7

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND LAND HOLDING SYSTEM IN MANIPUR, MIZORAM AND NAGALAND

INTRODUCTION

Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland are land-lock states located in the extreme North-Eastern Region of India on the Indo-Myanmar Bangladesh border. They are in close physical proximity with each other, and are neighbouring States of India. Their landscapes are mostly of hilly stiff ranges with deep and gorgeous cleavages wherein flow small brooklets, which are tributaries of the rivers down at the foothills that run through half-jungle-clad mountains.

The panoramic beauty of the hilly terrains with rich flora and fauna that steal one's imagination betrays ground reality. The backward tribal groups make their abode therein practicing the most antiquated method of cultivation, called 'shifting' or 'Jhumming' or 'Slash-and-burn' cultivation as their economic mainstay solely for maintenance of subsistence without the slightest element of scope for growth, progress and development.

Shifting or Jhumming cultivation is considered in modern days as the most dreaded socio-economic ill, the affects of which are damaging and far-reaching. The root cause of ecological imbalance and ultimate eco-system degradation are attributed to the practice of

shifting or Jhumming cultivation. Despite this, authorities concerned have not attempted to do away with it seriously. In general, it presents a gloomy situation till now.

CHIEFTAINSHIP (HAUSA OR LAL)

The subject matter calls for a brief highlight of the traditional Institution of Chieftainship and the manner in which land is used under it. It is also expedient to understand that Chieftainship as an Institution is confined to the administration of village among the Kukis and the Mizos only as against the system prevalent among the Nagas known as Gaonbura.

'Chieftainship' is very powerful secular Institution based on Kinship structure[1] for the purpose of village administration, which is the highest and independent political unit. The office of 'Chieftainship' is hereditary passing from father to eldest son, with autocratic characteristics. 'Gaunbura' on the other hand, closely akin to the LEOPARD SKIN Clad Chief[2] among the NUER society of Africa, is a system, the functions of which are more of 'religiousity' than of 'secular', with ritualistic details that manifest roles of the Gaonbura as 'peace-maker' and 'go-between' for maintenance of peace and communal harmony and settlement of disputes among ethnic groups, propitiating for welfare of the village community. The office of 'Gaonbura' is held by election for a specific term and is democratically oriented.

In 'Chieftainship', land ownership is the exclusive right and prerogative of the 'Chief" in absolute terms. Individual villagers have no rights over the land whatsoever. They are in complete subservience of the Chief. Under 'Gaonbura' individual, collective, group, etc. ownerships are allowed with equal right to one and all.

Thus, when we speak of 'Chieftainship', it shall be so understood that it is within the parameter of 'Tribal Kuki and Mizo' societies only where the Institution of 'Chieftainship' reigns supreme with absolutism. The same shall hold true when dealt with 'land use system' under the shifting or Jhumming cultivation.

'Chieftainship' is associated with the concept of 'Upa' or

'Senior'[3] conferred on a person with reverence and a great deal of veneration attached to it. Traditionally, 'Upa' is the only person entitled to become 'Chief' called 'Haosa' by the Kukis and 'Lal' by the Mizos. Attention in this connection is drawn to the effect that a very salutary change was made by the British after subjugation of the erstwhile Lushai Hills District of Assam in 1871-72 in respect of law of succession among Mizos[4]. It was a landmark that it continued in force till date. As per their customary law, the youngest son succeeds his father. The British made the rule wherein the eldest son succeeds his father on his death in place of the youngest son. A provision was, however, made for the younger sons to succeed the father in the event of undeserving eldest sons to hold responsibility due to being infirm, imbecile or lunatic. Otherwise, sons of a chief other than the seniormost are commoners since the changed law of succession was introduced by the British. This brought the concepts of 'Haosa' and 'Lal' among the Kukis and the Mizos at par with the eldest son succeeding his father.

A village has inevitably got a 'Chief' called 'Haosa' or Lal' as the case may be among the Kukis and the Mizos.

The 'Chief' of a village functions through his council of Ministers (Elders) called 'Semang-Upa' among the Kukis and 'Upa' among the Mizos, members of which are nominated by the Chief. Such members are generally selected from amongst different ethnic groups living in the village who have the wisdom and experience of village administration, knowledge in the customs, customary laws, culture, tradition, etc. and interpretations thereof relating to administration of law, justice, order, etc. The chief also includes representatives of the weak, the poor, the youth, etc., and so also of minority ethnic groups living in the village, so as to instill in them a sense of participation, security and belonging. Chieftainship has in effect become an institution of indispensability.

The office of 'Chieftainship' and his Council of Elders has a specific jurisdiction within which the 'Chief' wields a great deal of political authority and prerogatives over his subjects in absolute terms and he reigns supreme which creates sometimes, if not often, a tendency to become 'despotic'; for he is supreme administrative head whose word is law within the limit of his territory.

However, absolute is his authority notwithstanding, 'Chieftainship' functions on the principles of 'reciprocity'. It may safely be equated with the concept of 'Social Contract Theory' as was prevalent in the feudal society of mediaeval Europe. Thus, Chieftainship has come to stay as an effective and powerful political 'Institution', the perennial source of customary laws and the mechanism with which such laws are interpreted in their social system that makes them a living force enabling to maintain their distinct identity inheriting a rich cultural heritage.

In short, administration of justice, enforcement of executive function, maintenance of social practices and customary laws including performance of religious rites are the areas under the Institution of Chieftainship.

All things that exist within the jurisdiction of a village, such as, forests and produces of all sorts from the forests, wild games, building materials, wood and bamboo belong to the Chief of village. These are resources with which administration of the village is maintained. Saved the poor, the invalid and the widow, every able-bodied villager contributes to the administration and maintenance thereof.

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND LAND USE SYSTEM

Though the entire land of the village is said to belong to the Chief, actual use of land is left to the village community through his Council of Elders. As for an example, land to be under cultivation for Jhumming purpose in a particular cyclical year is selected by the villagers and put up the matter to the knowledge of village Council of Elders for approval. The Chief in the normal course has very little to say on the matter. He gives his approval to such proposal in deference to the wishes of the village community provided his Council of Elders recommends the same. Under the circumstance, it has to be noted that while a strong Chief can enforce his Council of Elders to give consent to his decisions, a weak one would go by the decision of the Council of Elders even if he strongly feels otherwise.

Organized activities of youth and able-bodied men and women are directly concerned with 'land use system' under 'Chieftainship'

'Lawmpi' is one such organization, activities of which as are given below will illustrate the system in its right perspective.

All young people of the village form a corporate group of the village known as 'Lawmpi'. This organization works mainly on the Jhum lands of the members of 'Lawmpi' collectively with a view to sustaining self-sufficiency of village economy even if not able to gain surplus. This is an organisation, which not only brings the young people together, but also administers themselves. Their services are placed at the disposal of the leaders of the Lawmpi, and can be requisitioned as a labour force by any villager including Chief of the village. Thus, this organisation keeps the village economy as self-sufficient as possible, and the village community-life dynamic as a living force.

LAND USE SYSTEM AND SHIFTING CULTIVATION

The most important factor of tribal life-style in respect of 'land use system' is to maintain subsistence of their life, based on Jhumming or shifting cultivation. The economic mainstay of the Kukis and the Mizos in Manipur and in Mizoram, Jhumming cultivation, is considered as the most antiquated method of cultivation in modern days. The same has no element of scope for growth, progress and development. It is the most dreaded socio-economic ill; the affects need hardly be over emphasized. The root cause of ecological imbalance and ultimate ecosystem degradation are attributed to the practice of Shifting Cultivation.

In Manipur the effect of Jhumming varies from place to place. Despite the fact that shifting cultivation is now a well-understood socio-economic ill, the people concerned have no alternative to abandon it under the existing circumstances. Reluctantly, they have to pursue the same old devilish system, knowing fully well that it is diabolic to humanity and their welfare. They will continue to do so till such time as a new approach to do away with the said system of cultivation is taken up with earnestness by the authorities directly concerned with the problems thus posed.

Unlike Mizoram where impact of Jhum cultivation is more or

less uniform in all parts of the State, it is not so in Manipur. It may be mentioned in this connection that adverse affect of Shifting cultivation was more acutely telling in Mizoram since 1952 when 'Chieftainship' was abolished. Land has become a 'free for all'. Everyone can cultivate anywhere as one pleases without requiring him to obtain to do so from an authority. Jhum cultivation is more heavily practiced in the areas where the Kukis and the Mizos inhabit preponderantly than in the areas inhabited by the Nagas. 'Terraced cultivation' is found exceedingly successful and the people have increasingly taken to this method of cultivation among the Nagas. With it, their economy is more sustainable and stabilized than that of the Kukis and the Mizos.

Although primary emphasis is given to the cultivation of paddy, Jhumming cultivation is a system of mixed cropping. Crops are sowed under rain-fed condition during Kharif seasons and they are reaped or harvested as the case may be beginning from autumn to winter seasons.

Life span of pieces of land thus used depends on the soil and its fertility. When used up, due to continuous consumption of its fertility, the land has to be abandoned for recuperation of the soil, the cycle of which varies from region to region. This cyclical rotation has caused extensive damage to the natural vegetation. The soil has been severely impoverished resulting thereby in out-cropping the hill areas and ultimately rendering the same not suitably for bearing any vegetation. The end-result is that the system is considered as obsolete, destructive and devastating.

Conditions of rainfall, humidity and temperature in the jhummed areas in almost all the North-East region are said favourably that no clearings remain without a vegetable cover for any length of time. Immediately at the close of the cropping period, the fallowed area is again covered with some kind of vegetation, which checks erosion, and run-off of the water. This is general contention of the tribals who practice Jhumming cultivation.

PROBABLE POSTULATES

Few postulates for and against the shifting cultivation need be looked into for investigations under the project proposed:

a) Negatives: Some evil attributes of Jhum cultivation being so dread about are as given below:

i) loss of edaphic fertility;

ii) erosion of thin top-sol and deterioration thereof;

iii) ruination of valuable timber for a much less value of crop or grain;

iv) heavy flood in the down-stream of water channels endangering life and property resulting in degeneration of environment and ecology; and

v) pressures caused by population growth as against limited spatial forest land availability attracts operation of law of diminishing return.

b) Positives: Under the situation, postulates for prospects towards better alternatives are given herein below:

i) 'Terraced cultivation alternative' – efforts need be initiated so as to find suitability or otherwise for introduction of a more permanent system of cultivation to replace shifting cultivation for which conditions, such as, ecology, environment, topographical compliments, water resources, etc. be examined and assessed;

ii) 'forest resources alternative' – numerous forest wealths, such as, timber-wood, cane, bamboo, and their by-products are to be tapped, mobilized and harnessed so as to generate income on large scale production;

iii) 'Jungle-gifts alternative' – Jungles of Manipur hills areas are known for their studded species of rare and varied flora and fauna. These forest wealths are grown abundantly with potentials of entering national and international market economy provided such 'jungle-gifts' are properly tapped, explored ways and means for exit of its produces and harnessed them as perennial income generating sources. Items of such 'jungle-gifts' may include orchids of numerous rare species, different types of natural decorative plants, leaves, trees, cactus

of indigenous varieties, etc. These are, so far, the areas not being touched;

iv) 'Agro-horticultural alternative' – the hill areas of Manipur are known for variegated soil and fertility as are also being under different climatic conditions. Thus they are naturally favourably for growth and plantation of varieties of cash crops, such as, tea, coffee, orange, lemon, pineapple, banana, betel-nut, betel-leave, papaya, yongchak (indigenous variety), maize, millet, cucumber, pumpkin, ginger, turmeric, cardamom, etc. Potentials for large scale production with high quality varieties are reportedly tested and confirmed with high yielding categories;

v) 'Variety-based alternatives' – Fishery, cattle-farming, sheep-rearing, mithun-farming, poultry, piggery, bee-keeping, sericulture, etc. etc. are other areas which have already had their foundations deeply-rooted in tribal life-style. This area requires modernization, improvement and care with initiatives from experts and authorities in their respective fields.

Jhum cultivation has a long history in its tradition and antiquity throughout the world. It is known by different nomenclatures. In English speaking world, it is known as 'Slash and burn'. In India, almost every state has its own nomenclature given to it. But the general term well-known all over India is 'Jhum' or 'Jum'. It is called 'Farming' in West Africa, 'Sartage' in Ardennes, 'Chena' in Sri Lanka, 'Chitimeni' in Central Africa, 'Milpa' in Central America, 'Karen' in Japan, 'Laden' in Indonesia, 'Djuma' in Sumatra 'Tamari', in Thailand, etc.

Much as its historicity in antiquity of the system, its prevalence and practice are commensurately in the sports where people of antiquated indignity inhabiting remote hilly areas are who still embrace it. And so, no wonder tat Shifting cultivation is closely entrenched with the Kukis and the Mizos whose antiquated autocratic Institution of governance called 'Chieftainship', devoid of elements of democracy, is being burdened with multiple problems of 'land use system'.

Yet, conditions of rainfall, humidity and temperatures in the jhummed areas in almost all the North-East Region are said favourably that no clearings remain without a vegetable cover for any length of time. Immediately at the close of cropping period, the fallowed area is again covered with some kind of vegetation which checks erosion and run-off of water. This is the general contention of the tribals who practice Jhumming Cultivation.

CONCLUSION

Whatever, defect, 'Chieftainship' as an Institution', is firmly deep-rooted in their social structures among the Kukis and the Mizos. Abolition or amendment of the 'Chieftainship' could hardly give the desired impact. It only heightened the void that had the genesis in the enactments of the so-called Acquisition of Chief's Right Act, 1952 in Mizoram and 1967 in Manipur, Village Authority Act, 1956 and Village Authority (amendment) Act, 1983 in Manipur, etc., etc.

Some basic data are such that Shifting Cultivation covers population of 4.25% tribal families in 1974 as against 4.79% in 1979 with only 0.54% growth-rate in five years. The average decadal growth-rate of urbanization, similarly, shown @ 0.3 to 0.03% with 1974 as base-year and that in consideration of the above growth-rtes total families dependent on Jhumming will be only 7.66 lakhs in 2000.

Thus, the areas under shifting cultivation at any one time is estimated at only 2.68% in Manipur, 2.94% in Mizoram and 4.69% in Nagaland of the total areas available for the purpose. The question, therefore, is not of 'danger of soil erosion' as is opined and dreaded about, but it is the issue more of 'loose of soil fertility', which is basic and perennial.

The Chief may be wanting in qualifications[5] and these may be many of other families his superior in ability, but, unless he is physically quite unfit to his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted, and the usual course is for the elder and advisors to assist him in his rule.

This is basic characteristic of 'Chieftainship', which has a strong grip for efficient administration. The British knew it well and thus gave cognizance to it as part of their administrative machinery. However,

with dawn of independence in India, 'Chieftainship' has become a misfit. There came to exist two sets of people among the Kukis and the Mizos, as a result. The traditional leadership as provided by the Chiefs and their clansmen could not adjust to the new situation. On the other hand, commoners saw a new ray of hope to move in their social hierarchy and asserted themselves through organized ethnic activities, which came in direct confrontation with the Institution of Chieftainship. This gave birth to the nomenclature, Mizo, the place of Lushai and controversy over the 'Kuki' terminology, mainly because of politicizations of tribal society by the proletariats[6] resulting in emergence of new nomenclatures and division of cohesive village communities into heterogeneous ethnic groups right from the village level to the highest, every imaginable group aspiring for separate and multifarious identities.

Notes & References

1 Gangte T.S., *The Kukis of Manipur* , Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993, P. 123.

2 Evans Pritchard, E.E., *The Nuer,* London, 1940, P.163.

3 *N. I.*, Pp.123-126.

4 Chatterjee, N., *The Mizo Chief and his Administration,* 1975, Tribal Research Institute Aizawl, Mizoram.

5 Carey, Bertram S. and Tuck, H.N., *The Chin Hills,* Aizawl, Mizoram, 1932., Pp. 201-203.

6 Betteille, Andre, *Caste: Old & New,* New Delhi, 1969, P.139.

8

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS KUKIS

INTRODUCTION

The Articles on Frontier Work and Policy on the Kukis spelled out clearly that "We are not of those who first clamor for punishment, and then beg off the culprits because "it hurts". When the tribes would not submit to our arms, the only alternative was to break up and disintegrate their communities"[1] The situations on the North-East India were so fluid that "The limits of the empire are drawn far outside most of the tribes we have to meet, and this alone has necessarily led to fluctuations in policy and uncertainty of aim"[2] and thus the policy of conciliation or of punitive expeditions could not always serve the purpose though effective and useful. Mostly they proved abortive, particularly with "the policy of conciliation, pure and simple", which had been in fashion by "... a Government professedly paternal"[3].

Thus a policy of non-interference which was tried till the seventies of the nineteenth century, wherever found suitable was replaced by a policy offering military service though was often tempered with by a policy of interference or 'Forward Policy'.[4]

In other words, since the famous Queen's proclamation of November, 1858, the British Government in India followed a policy of a political 'Laissez Faire' towards the Kukis. However, the fear of Burmese aggression persisted in the minds of the British India Government for many years. Therefore, with the coming of Lord Curzon, the policy of

non-interference called 'Laissez Faire' was abandoned and replaced by a 'Forward Policy' all over the north-east India.[5]

History showed that the presence of British in their soil was strongly resented and often attacked with arms and made the wildness in the Kuki more turbulent. In order to meet such fierce tribes the British tried first the policy of non-interference in their relationship with them; the offer of military service come as an alternative policy in the form of militia and to constitute particular groups of Kukis as buffer whom they considered strong enough to ward off the other ferocious tribes from coming into direct conflict with the British or their subject. These were found not as effective and lasting as they were supposed to serve the purpose, and were therefore, soon replaced by punitive expeditions, blockades, fines, often resulting in reprisal and subjugation.

As a matter of fact, the British Policy towards the Kukis has to be understood in the larger context of their policy towards the North-East India and Burma. It is also to be understood that in as much as the British policy towards the Kukis was related to their policy on North-East India and Burma, the Anglo-Manipuri relationship had a direct bearing towards the Anglo-Kuki relationship.

POLICY AT WORK

The French had connections with Indo-China and began to interfere actively in the affairs of the latter in the nineteenth century which resulted in the building of French Empire of Indo-China[6]. British closely watched the policy being followed by France and saw that the eastern flank of Indian empire was under serious threat. Thus as soon as Armherst assumed his office he had to pay his attention on priority basis on the threat from the North-East. "Burma had long been the seat of a Buddhist Kingdom whose dynasties had shared fully in the common vicissitudes of oriental kingdoms.

Plasey Alompra, the founder of a new dynasty, conquered the province of Pegu and so added the Irrawaddy delta to his upper Burman realm of Ava. The Thais of Siam were next defeated, their capital Ayuthia destroyed in 1768 and Tennasserim annexed (1766). King Bodawpaya added Arakan in 1785, Manipur in 1813, and Assam in 1816. Now as successors of the Kings of Arakan the Burmans called

on Lord Hastings to surrender Chittagong, Dacca, and Murshidabad in 1818. As a prelude to their career of expansion the Burmans had repelled invasions from China in 1768-69, and since China was then regarded by them as the leading power in the world their pride and confidence were obviously inflated. The Burmans were arrogant, isolated, and ignorant. They had no concept of the nature of western civilization and suffered acutely from the megalomania which is apt to come from prolonged success within narrow confines".

As a consequence now, it is quite natural, the Burman thought that Ava was the centre of the universe, its arms invincible, its culture supreme. From the king to the beggar they were hot for a war with the English. Now, since the British did not concede to their demand, they attacked the island of Shahpuri near Chittagong and made hostile moves on the Assam border in September 1823". The war that followed ended in the peace treaty signed at Yandaboo, sixty miles from Ava, in 1826, followed by the second Burman war that broke out in 1852 due to commercial dispute, and thus Burma was annexed in the third Burman war in 1885[7], which set the mind of the British at rest in Manipur where they had all the time uneasy calm because of the fear of interference from other powers especially France which made the British to abandon the Policy of 'non-interference' replaced by a 'Forward Policy'. Thus, it was the France action that prompted Britain to annex Burma in 1885. They are now free to pay more attention to the local problems mainly of intestine rip in the Manipur royal family and of the Kuki inroads on the British provinces in North-East India.

It is now expedient that we see the British Policy towards the Kukis at work at different premises. It could be observed that wherever Kukis settled they were indiscriminately exploited. As Edgar said, when the Kukis did not submit to the British, they were broken up and disintegrated[8]. All the same, the Kukis by temperament were not the people to submit to any authority without any justifiable reason. It was, therefore, obvious that the two often met on hostile grounds. But, howsoever, recalcitrant and stubborn a Kuki might be, whoever came into contact with him, found him either as an enemy worth-fighting against, or a reliable friend who could be exploited or taken advantage of.

Thus, Hutton [9] said, "When I first made the Kuki's acquaintance

and for years after, I regarded him merely as an administrative nuisance. ... The operations against the rebellious (Kuki) of the Manipur State in 1918 and 1919 led to a very much better acquaintance with him, and from then onwards the more I have seen of the (Kuki), the more I have respected him and the better I have liked him. For pluck, intelligence, straight-forwardness and cheerfulness he stands high among his neighbours." It may be difficult to vouched-safe all that qualifying virtues of a Kuki that had been so richly bestowed by Hutton, but all the same, worth-observing.

In the first place, it is pertinent to note that the Kuki society is a very segmentary type, with the highest degree of clan consciousness that led to obsessed clan-rivalry among themselves with rare occasion of unity. Obviously, inter-clan feuds reigned their relationships.

POLITICAL LAISSEZ FAIRE TO FORWARD POLICY

Thus taking advantage of the inter-clannish feuds among the Kukis, the British as well as the native princes made use of some groups of Kukis to their benefits while they were at hostile relationship with others.

Edgar was one of the staunch protagonists of abandoning the policy of 'non-interference' (Political Laissez Faire) which he described as ineffective in view of the ferocious nature of the Kukis who could never be made to understand such a policy of conciliation which Mackenzie described as too polished an English to be understood by such savages as the Kukis.[10]

Heggins also made his observation more or less on the same line when he had to waive his objections to a policy of negotiation and conciliation in deference to the wishes of higher authority. He was convinced that even, in compliance with the desire of the higher authority. He was convinced that even, in compliance with the desire of the higher authority, if he called a meeting of the Kuki chiefs and arrived at an agreement or settlement, the Kukis would not abide by such settlement[11] if it was not to the satisfaction of their wishes. Therefore, he prepared a policy of 'active interference' (Forward Policy) in the form of

subjugation with arms, which was the only way the Kukis could understand.

Edgar, therefore, pleaded that "Punitory expeditions are an absolute necessity in dealing with aggressive and ferocious Kukis.[12] The Kuki ferocity apart, Colonel Lister found them very effective agency through whom buffer group could be constituted by "raising a Kookie levy" and settling them at different 'exposed frontiers', "promising to arm and support them to be a shield" from other Kuki groups and other tribes.[13] Because of their ferocious nature, which scared other tribes and clan-rivalry among themselves, tempted the Englishmen to win the Kukis over so as to use them for their own benefits. The Kukis were therefore, convenient and effective tools for framing a Buffer Policy for the British.

IN MANIPUR

McCulloh said that there were powerful Kuki tribes who were dangerous as well. Their countries lie "beyond the Manipur boundary".[14] The Kukis were straightforward, not calculating, and temperamentally believing-type of people. Naturally, being neighbours, they wanted to be in good terms and be-friendly with the Manipuris[15], but such gestures were taken as weakness and taken undue advantage of by the British and the Manipuris.

McCulloh observed that "..... I encourage them to come and go, though if it were possible, the Sootie tribe to be attacked", and treacherously planned to protect themselves by exposing other Kuki tribes with arms to confront with the Sukte Kukis and the Lushai Kukis as and when the latter attacked Manipur[16]. "In connection with these people (Sukte and Lushai Kukis), and as a protection to the south of the valley, the Raja and I have established in the south villages of Kookies, to whom are given arms, and whom we call sepoy villages. They are to be unrestricted in their cultivation, and have to send scouts to watch the tribes at the season when they are most able to move about and to mischief. These sepoy villages are not quite settled, but by care they might be brought to a proper state of usefulness"[17].

Johnstone contended that the Kukis were nomadic, consisting

of several tribes who begun to pour into Manipur in 1845 from the south in large numbers driving away many former inhabitants. It was during Mc Culloch's time who tactfully managed to deal with the Kukis while Raja Nursingh of Manipur got scared of them.[18] After a careful and superficially sympathetic approach to the Kukis, Mc Culloch realized that the sole object of the Kuki exodus was to secure land for cultivation and not for conquest.

Thus he befriended the Kukis and allotted lands in different places "according to their number, and where their presence would be useful on exposed frontiers"[19], thus scattering them all over the hills surrounding the valley of Imphal without being allowed to occupy compact areas so that they might be easily subdued in the event of such future exigency.[20]

The tact and far-sighted policy was a scheme, which could hardly be fathomed by the simple and innocent Kuki faculty. Mc Culloch was so kind-hearted, and often went out of his way sacrificing his personal comfort and material gains for Kukis. He was said to have even "advanced them large sums from his own pocket, assigning different duties to each chief's followers[21], planting Kuki settlements on exposed frontiers the success of which induced the Government of Bengal to try similar experiment.[22]

IN NORTH CACHAR

Mackenzie said that the Kukis living in North-Cachar hills were "all immigrants from the south, and formerly inhabited the hills south of Cachar ..... They are a hard-working, self-reliant race and the only hillmen in this quarter who can hold their own against the Angamis"[23]. These Kukis came north about 85 years ago, and were of great help to the Rajah Govind Chunder of Cachar" in his feud with Tularam Senaputty (1828-29). More Kukis came in and their system of gradation of chiefs in a well organized manner made them superior to the Nagas. They were ready at once to avenge an inroad and, using bows and arrows instead of spears were much respected even by the Angamis. Before the establishment of the Naga Hills District, proposals were frequently made to utilize these Kookies as a buffer or screen between our more timid subjects and the Angamis.

In 1856-57 lands were assigned rent-free for 10 and afterwards for 25 years to any Kookies who would settle to the east of North Cachar beyond the Langting River. Fire-arms and ammunition were given them by the Government. In 1859 about 600 Kookies had accepted free settlement on these terms; and in 1860 the colony contained 1356 inhabitants in seven villages. These villages the Angamis avoided, and to some extent the country in the rear of the Kookie settlements was free from incursions"[24]

"In August 1876 the Chief Commissioner again drew attention to the continued aggressions of the Angamis, and specially the villages of Knomah and Mozemah, upon Naga communities living under Manipur, and to the state of perpetual warfare in which they lived among themselves. No actual raid upon our villages in North Cachar had taken place of late, partly because the Katch Nagas usually submitted to Angami exactions, partly because they were able to shelter themselves behind the Kookies, whom the Angamis dared not touch"[25], further said Mackenzie.

IN CACHAR

Cachar had already been subjugated and its people were the subjects of British India Government at the time the cruelty of the Kukis on Cachar was at its height with highest frequency of raids which turned the turmoil earlier create by Burma into a havoc of constantly dreaded nightmare.

Thus with a view to checking hostile Kuki incursions, the British Government raised a 200 strong friendly Kuki levy in 1850 in addition to the policy of economic blockade enforced against the hostile Kukis which was found very effective. It was therefore, considered urgently required to strengthen the Kuki levy, and was done so in 1852. The British Government thus succeeded in antagonizing different groups of Kukis who would otherwise could patch up their differences in the face of external danger or alien people, and also in furtherance of a policy of 'divide and rule'.

Overwhelmed with the success and effectiveness of the raising of Kuki levy, the Junior Assistant Commissioner, North-Cachar, proposed for the establishment of Kuki colony in the areas to the east

of Langting river about thirty miles north-east of Asalu. This was strongly recommended by the Commissioner of Assam, Colonel Jenkins, and was approved by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal which encouraged Kuki immigration not only to Cachar but further to Manipur and North-Cachar Hills. Soon the adjoining areas of Naga Hills in Cachar district were swamped with many Kuki colonies who took to permanent settlement and cultivation.

Taking advantage of this new development, the British India Government provided the Kukis with fire-arms in the name of self-defence while at the same time fulfilling their design to make the Kukis a buffer between the North-Cacharis and the Nagas particularly the Angamis[26].

SIGNALLY FAILED

History of the relationship between the British and the Kukis, and the policy of the former towards the latter was nothing but tales of repeated outrage, intimidation, coercion and repression. The British claimed that unless otherwise indispensable and unavoidable, a policy of reprisal had never been resorted to and further claimed to have advocated a policy of absolute non-interference. But Mackenzie said, non-interference towards the Kukis and for that matter in the north-east India "failed as a policy-signally failed.[27] In propagating its policy of non-interference, the British tried "direct control, personal influence, conciliatory intercourse-supported at the same time by adequate strength" – as its measures.

Sir Cecil Beadon, a staunch advocate of the non-interference policy as against Edgar and Higgins who were all for breaking up the Kukis and disintegrating their communities, "when the bribes would not submit to our arms"[28], said that the relationship of the British with the Kukis was built "upon a wrong principle, and that, so long as our policy rests upon the assumption that the Kookies of certain tribes cannot be trusted until they have been made to feel our power, we shall be in danger of embroiling ourselves with them in another unsatisfactory and profitless contest.

Every endeavour should be made to induce the chiefs of the unfriendly tribes not to-com-in, as it is called, that is, to present

themselves before the Superintendent, either at Chittagong or at any other place at a distance from the frontier, but to consent that he should meet them at some spot equally convenient to both parties, and then to enter into written engagements for the future maintenance of peace on the border.

In a meeting of this kind could be arranged in such a manner as not to wound the natural savage pride of these chieftains and their followers, and if they could once be made to feel confident in our pacific intentions, the Lieutenant Governor has no doubt that they would willingly enter into any reasonable engagements we might dictate, that all hostile incursions and the apprehension of these would cease, and that the tribes instead of being a source of terror to those who live under our immediate protection would become the reverse.

One of the best means of conciliating the goodwill of tribals, like the Kookies is to arrange an annual gathering of chiefs at some convenient place in the hills, on which occasion the Superintendent, representing the British Government, should receive trifling offerings from each chief, and bestow on him a present in return, and take the opportunity of hearing and redressing all complaints and grievances, and of encouraging free and friendly communication between the different tribes, and between them and the people of the plains. To attend to such meeting, and to receive a token of friendly disposition from the Superintendent, would soon come to be regarded as a privilege, and the general good feeling of the tribes would be enlisted against any one of them who held aloof.

A small police allowance, either in money or in kind, might be given to each chief to enable him to keep the peace within his own limits, and to prevent his people from attacking their neighbours, and this would also serve as a security for own fidelity and allegiance.

"To enable you to see what may be effected by a policy of this kind, I am desired to forward to you the accompanying copy of a report from Major Bivar, Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, in Assam, detailing his negotiations with the Abors, a wild tribe who had for a long time given us much trouble on that frontier and of the engagement he has concluded with them. The Lieutenant-Governor desires that the

policy which has apparently been so successful in Assam may be followed out in respect to the tribes on the frontier of your division.

If this be done, it will most probably remove all grounds of complaints as to the insufficiency of the means at your disposal for coercing these people; and utmost cost of subsidizing them, and making them serve as their own police, will be far more than covered by the reduction which will thus become practicable in our own Military and Police Establishments", said Beadon.[29]

KUKIS TAKEN FOR GRANTED

The Policy thus enunciated by Beadon was poles apart from what was followed in dealing with the Kukis. The excellent services rendered in the British imperialist expansion policy and consolidations of their powers in North-East India were not given cognizance. Though the Kukis were not consciously aware of their being made part of the expansionist policy of the British imperial design in the North-East India, while they were the only and most ferocious tribe to oppose the British in the whole of North-East India after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, they were at the same time in no small measure exploited as effective tools in the consolidation of the British paramountcy in the region.

The break out of Anglo-Kuki war in 1917-19 was mainly due to wrong assumption on the part of the British Officials on the Kukis. While the Kukis were taken too much for granted, the local officials and the Chief Commissioner of Assam for that matter the Government of Assam gave undue importance and weightage to the Maharaja of Manipur. It was also a fact that the British India was fully aware that Kukis were not under the control of the Manipur Maharaja and in no way could enforce their influence on the Kukis. But the British Officials were obsessed to please the Raja by identifying themselves full with the latter as a general policy all over India to seek unprecedented favour of the Indian Princes in utter difference to the enthusiastic help extended by the masses and middle class people of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in their war efforts against their enemies during the First World War. Now, therefore, instead of having approached the situation in a more tactful and sober manner on a line similar to the Beadon policy "not to would the natural savage pride" of the Kuki

chiefs, a decision was imposed on the Kukis and the Nagas unilaterally.

It was quite humanly obvious that a person with certain amount of dignity, prestige and integrity to maintain would have under no circumstances yielded to such a situation. The irony of the situation was that the local British officials who were in no small measures responsible to guide the destiny and most major policy decisions of the Raja of Manipur were obsessed with a complex, which contemptuously treated the Kukis so lightly. This has given rise to all kinds of impression to the Government that led to serious mistakes in the governance of the right policy towards the Kukis.

Webster, Chief Secretary, Assam, observed that "The serious trouble that has arisen out of recruiting in the Manipur Hills and the little warning that the local administration received as to the extent and seriousness of the unrest and the amount of opposition to be expected, give the impression that the Kukis of Manipur were less known and less under control than the hill tribes in the British districts of the Province", and frankly admitted later that the situation was "our own creation."

GROSSLY INCONSISTENT

The naked truth of the fact in the field was that the Kukis were treated with intimidation, threat, reprisal, etc., an example of which could be seen from what Colonel Cole, Political Agent, Manipur,[30] said "... if the chiefs do not come when sent for, they will be sent for and fetched under guard". This was classic of the kind of policy being followed in dealing with the Kukis, and ran counter to Beadon's policy not to ask the chiefs "to come in". It may be added here that it was Higgins who cautioned the higher authorities that if the Kukis did not come to their senses without the heavy hands of the mighty power of the British being fell on them,[31] he would "burn them destroying such property as can be found".

In view of what had been observed in their policy to win the favour of native princes in the growing emergence of Indian National consciousness, etc. blunt treatment meted to the Kukis with complete show of oneness and confidence in the Manipuri Raja was obviously understandable. But the British officials failed to grasp the fact that

they faced the Kukis who were seriously part of the Indian National consciousness fighting for the independence of their country. They were not to be cowed down by such threats. It was a question of life and death for the Kukis to fight for their independence.

The policy of the British towards the Kukis was one of gross inconsistency all through. Therefore, as a result of serious mistakes "which they tried to cover up by belittling the Anglo-Kuki war on the part of officials in the field, the local British officials were obsessed with a determination to put down the Kukis with a heavy hand while the higher authorities considered otherwise which led to serious misunderstanding between them, such as could be observed from Higgins's observation to the effect that "I wonder if the Government of India ever learnt to trust the man on the spot. At present their studied policy seems to be to treat him as an imbecile"[32] which culminated in a most heinous and unforgivable sinful military action.

Robert Reid said that the mistake committed on the Kukis was so serious that they "were more sinned against than sinning"[33]. Nevertheless, the Kukis had no regret. They fought well to the best of their might for the preservation of their independence and dignity of their nation in the hope that they would once again breathe the free air of independence.

Notes & References

1 *Frontier Work and Policy, 1870-72*, Articles in *The Pioneer*, 2nd February 1872.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Smith, Vincent A, *The Oxford History of India*, P.698.

5 A.C. Chakravarty's British relationship with the Hill tribes of North-East India (Assam) since 1858, Calcutta 1964, pp. 22-23.

6 Smith, Vincent A., *The Oxford History of India,* pp.700-701.

7 Smith, Vincent A., *The Oxford History of India*, pp.597-9

8 Edgar, J.W.'s Article on Frontier work and Policy, 1870-72, *The Pioneer*, 22nd February, 1872.

9 Hutton, Dr. J.H's comment at the foot-note of Shaw, W's The Thadou Kukis, 1929 : p.23

10 Mackenzie, A., *The North East Frontier of India*, 1884.

11 Heggins, J.C.'s letter No. 705 MS. Dt. 24/25 Nov., 1917 to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Assam, Shillong.

12 Mackenzie, A., *The North East Frontier of India*, 1884: P 575.

13 Judicial Proceedings, 1850, dt. 13.11.1850, No. 105, dt. 20.11.1850, Nos. 54-5, dt. 27.11.1850, Nos. 103-4.

14 McCulloh, M.Colonel's Memorandum submitted to the Government on the Kukis dated the 18th July, 1861.

15 *Ibid.*

16 McCulloh, M. Colonel's Memorandum submitted to the Government on the Kukis dated the 18th July, 1861.

17 *Ibid.*

18 Johnstone, Sir James, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, PP.25-27.

19 *Ibid.*, P. 25

20 *Ibid.*, Pp. 25-27

21 Johnstone, Sir James, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, 1971 (Reprint), P.25-27

22 *Ibid.*

23 Mackenzie, A, *The North-East Frontier of India*, 1884, P. 146.

24 *N. 23.*, P146.

25 Foreign and Political Proceedings 'A' June 1866 Nos. 37-39., ASR Bengal Government Papers, file No. 351 of 1856

26 *N.23.*, P. 369 (1884).

27 *Ibid.*

28 Edgar's note on Kukis on 22nd February, 1872 (Mackenzie, P. 574)

29 Edgar's note on Kukis on 22nd February, 1872 (Mackenzie, P. 574)

30 H.W.G.Cole's *Letter* D.O. Ho. 5C dt. 17-3-1917 to B.C. Allen.

31 Higgin J.C's letter No. 705 M.S. dt. 24/25-11-1917 to the Chief Secretary, Assam.

32 Higgins, J.C's letter dated the 25th December, 1917 addressed to Cosgrave, W.A. Political Agent, Manipur.

33 Reid, R., *The State of Assam and its Neighbouring Areas*

9

LAND PROBLEM AND ETHNIC TENSION IN NORTHEAST INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MANIPUR

INTRODUCTION

Manipur is a land-locked state located in the easternmost part of the country bordering on the Indo-Myanmar international demarcation lines. The centrally located amphitheatre-like Imphal valley with 700 square mile areas is predominantly inhabited by the Hindu and Meetei Muslim communities totaling 1674821 population and the entire hill areas of 7000 square miles that surround the former are the abodes of highly heterogeneous 33 tribal ethnic groups with a population of 713813 who are scheduled listed as recognized tribes by the Government of India vide orders No.

i. Fourth Schedule Section 26(I) of the Amendments to the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes), October 1950 Part XIV for Manipur.

And

ii. Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Act, 2002 No. 10 of 2003 dated 7 January, 2003(g) Part X Manipur

Not a tribe under Orders No.(i) above bears the nomenclatures,

'Naga or Kuki'. But they are broadly so divided as given below for all practical purposes academically in view of their close affinity in origin, culture, tradition, language, system of cultivation form of Government, etc.

Kukis

1. Aimol,
2. Anal,
3. Any Mizo (Lushai Tribes),
4. Chiru,
5. Chothe,
6. Gangte,
7. Hmar,
8. Kairao,
9. Marring,
10. Kom,
11. Lamgang,
12. Mayon,
13. Monsang
14. Koireng,
15. Paite,
16. Purtirn,
17. Ralte
18. Sukte,
19. Simte,
20. Thadou,
21 .Vaiphei,
22. Zo

Nagas:

I . Angami
2. Kabui —
(i) Pamei,
(ii) Rengmei,
3. Kacha Naga —
(i) Zemei,
(ii) LANGRNEI,
4. Mao,
5. Mararn,
6. Sema and
7. Tangkhul

Similarly, they can be divided into Naga and 'Kuki' .under Orders No. (ii) above in the following manner:

Kukis: 1. Tarao, 2. Kharam and 3. Any Kuki Tribes.

Nagas: 1. Paumi.

However, it needs to be pointed out here regarding the Marrings and the Chirus.

Grierson put the Marrings midway between the Nagas and the Kukis. Similarly McCulloch considered Chiru as a link between the Kukis and the Nagas. Brown regarded them as a branch of the Kukis. Hudson also represented them as Naga while Shakespeare classed them as a distinct branch of the Kukis, and so Mullan simply classified them as Naga tribes.

With this conflicting opinion in the background, Prol. .J.K. Bose and his team of young scholars of Anthropology made survey of the tribes in detail and collected fresh information on different aspects of their life and published their findings in September, 1980. In their findings they found that kinship of the tribes concerned had been the basis of the dual divisioning of the Kuki tribe, and claimed that from the results of these investigations, they could safely place them under the old Kuki group. In doing so, they contended that their manners, customs, language and traditions are definitely of Kuki origin, but the characteristics which have misled some of the earlier authorities were their well built body, hardy-habits, cropped hair with head-band and the bachelor's house which all at first sight seemed to be of Naga life.[1]

HYPOTHESIS

Now, as the premise is concerned with (i) Land Problem and (ii) Ethnic Tension, it must be kept in mind that the Government, as a matter of administrative necessity, framed a Policy on Land, called "the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms Act, 1960"; and enforced the same throughout the Imphal Valley and in some part of the Hill Areas where Land Survey had been conducted.

Similarly, in the Hill Areas of Manipur, as a legacy from the British India period, individual Rights given to the Tribal Chiefs were handed down from generation to generation and given cognizance by the Government to the effect that the piece of land over which their rights were given were recognized as the land belonging to the Chiefs that fell within the jurisdiction of the Village Land treating such document issued by Sub-Division Officers or District Magistrates, as equivalent to Patta in the valley and in some parts of hill areas where MLR & LR

was enforced in the post- independent era till date under Directive Principles of State Policy (Articles 36-51) with a view to protecting the backward Tribals from Political enslavement or subordination and economic exploitation and deprivation till such time as the Government may deem it incumbent to do away with such protective Constitutional Mandate.

Under the situation, there stands very little chance for 'Land Problem' confronting the people living in the Imphal Valley and some parts of hill areas where the "Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms, Act, 1960" is enforced on the one hand and the people living in the hill areas where 'Chief's Right' over his Village Land was established on the oilier unless forced by 'Political Expediency' which might have fomented 'ethnic tension'

LAND PROBLEMS

The Manipur (Village Authorities in Hill Areas) Act, 1956 (80 of 1956) was published in the Extraordinary Gazette of Manipur under Notification No. 1/15/54 dated the 17th January, 1957, Vol. No.6-E-4, Imphal, Thursday, April, 1957. The same was earlier published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary Part-TI, Section I dated the 1 December, 1956 as Act No. 80 of 1956.

This Act created strong sense of opposition, generated a great deal of discontentment, apprehension of Government's intention to do away with the rights of the Chiefs over the land and vehemently resented application or extension of the Act in the hill-areas. Protests of all kinds were launched by the public and within the then Territorial Council by the Kuki Members of the Manipur Territorial Council that resulted at times to lie instability of Government due to change of side (defection) to topple the political Party that formed the Government.

Such protests and objections were more strongly apparent and active anti-Government attitude built-up among the Kukis than among the Nagas on whose part the Act was considered with no much of consequences. Indeed, the spirit of real danger with uncertainty for their future political destiny ran high among the Kukis. The apprehension, lest their land be snatched away from their hands with the Village Authority Act, 1956 having been enforced, became stronger which

could not be marginalized. The minds of Kukis rest in fear of cornering them out from their habitation that might lead to complete extermination of Kukis in the backdrop of gradual steps being taken up by the Government over their right on land.

Thus, insecurity looming large over their heads like 'Democle's Sword', the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) decided to take a political decision to demand a 'Kuki state in 1960.

The Kuki National Assembly was the apex social organisation of the Kukis that spearheaded issues relating to interest of the Kukis in the early part of independence in India. Later, it became a recognized political party under the Election Commission of India (ECI), which allotted it a reserve4 symbol of 'two leaves' in the mid 60s. The said KNA submitted a representation to the first Prime Minister of India, Shri (low late) Jawaharlal Nehru, on the 24 March, 1960, wherein it demanded for creation of 'Kuki State in pursuance of resolution passed at its General Assembly Meeting held at Thingkangphai, then Manipur South District, Manipur, from the 19 to the 22 January, 1960. The resolution was very well cautiously brought about to say that what future form or shape of political set-up would be most desirable, safest and most conducive for the Kukis inhabiting the North Eastern region of India to live grow and develop best according to their own genius through the blending of the best within and without their own-fold with a vie to railing themselves to a status equal to that of other advanced section of the other parts of India and contributing their mite to the building of a stronger, more coherent, and inmost thought and careful deliberation in the minds of the Kukis since the time when India was at the threshold of independence from the shackles of foreign domination.

After more than ten long and patient years of keen observation and great forbearance in this dynamic and fast and ever-changing world of the way the course of administration has been a allowed to run by those directly at the helms of affairs and also the way and the manner in which their other tribal brethren of India have been thinking, aiming and acting for increasing their rights to enjoy "self-determination' to determine their own political destiny. The Kukis, one and all, young and old, have become convinced that unless something is done immediately for their self-determination, namely, establishment of a separate state

of their own within the Indian Union, they will surely succumb sooner or later to extinction and extermination, which have now seriously been threatening them.

The Kuki National Assembly, India, in their general meeting thereby resolved while affirming solidarity with the rest of the country to make a just and strong demand of the Government of India for immediate establishment of Kuki State for unification of all contiguous areas now under the inhabitation of the Kukis in India and for pursuance of their demand to its final end in supersession of its earlier demand for establishment of a Kuki District.

At this stage, we must recall the fact that the Village Authorities Act 1956 was amended and called the same "The Manipur Hill Areas, (Acquisition of Chiefs Rights) Act, 1967". This has indeed given rise to increasing speculation that the Government of Manipur was bent on evicting the Kukis from their lands and hence, justified the inevitability of representation submitted to the former Prime Minister of India in 1960.

The said Act, 1956 that was amended in 1967 with more stringent provisions inserted together with the Change of the nomenclature into "The Manipur Hill Areas, (Acquisition of Chiefs Rights) Act, 1967", was further amended to make it more firmly empowered to weaken the Rights of the Chiefs as amended in 1983.

On the other hand, AMSU pressurized the Government of Manipur with a Memorandum urging them vide their Memo No. CM-20/GS-M/MR & LR/89 dt. 19th September, 1989 to enforce the Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms (MLR & LR) Act, 1960 in the Hill Areas of Manipur.

Under the circumstances, the Kukis felt very insecure and their mind-set was restless with absolute hopelessness of their future political destiny. The Kukis are now faced on two pronged attacks. While one is from the State Government to resume rights of the Chiefs with systematic approach in order to restrain them from passing tough line In this regard, even if not entirely abolished, the other is from the student front, which aim at enforcing the MLR & LR in the Hill areas particularly among the Kukis whose habitations are normally located in

between the Valley people and the Nagas who prefer to settle in the interior hill areas.

With a view to tackling such suppressive elements against the Kukis and to perpetuating political demand of the KNA, the Kuki National Front (KNF) was formed by late Nehlun Kipgen in 18 May, 1988 to pursue creation of a 'Kuki Homeland' (Kuki State), within the framework of Indian Constitution so as to fulfill aspiration of the Kukis as initiated in 1960 by the KNA.[2]

Notwithstanding anything as provided for in new Constitution based on democratic principle, several ethnic groups having different social and political aspirations were bound t project their dreams through various methods of pressures. Land problem is one that should inevitably occupy forefront issue of the people and the Government for solution. It may, therefore, be relevant to highlight Land Problems relating to the Kukis in the Hill areas of Manipur.

a. Land

The importance of land for existence of a community needs no mentioning. Land is the determining factor even with a nation; nations cannot exist without land. Most of the political issues, national or international are connected in some ways or other with land. The same is true with the Kukis and the Nagas and the Meiteis in Manipur. Knowing their future problem well, several representations were submitted to the Government by and on behalf of the Kuki National Assembly for the formation of a Committee of land enquiry Commission consisting of an equal number of Kukis and Nagas to be presided over by an impartial Government official to settle the land problems of Manipur hills amicably. It is disappointing that the Government turned deaf ears to any representation in this regard. If the problem between the Kukis and the Nagas was to be settled peacefully such a Commission was essential.

b. Forest

Forest problem was another burning question in the heart of every thinking Hill man. The Government appeared to have taken the view that hill people live and exist on the forest, forgetting altogether

the unquestionable truth that hill people are children of the forest. To enforce forest law amounts to stripping the hill people of their birth-right and of their being owners of the land they hold. It may be relevant in this context to mention one of Pandit Nenru's five broad principles on development of tribal areas, delivered in Shillong on March12, 1959, which ran thus

> "Tribal rights on land and forest should be respected. These hill people who once love to have good communication in their areas have lost much of their enthusiasm with the apprehension that good communication means forfeiture of their lands and economic and social exploitation on the other hand. Thus, even good communication, instead of being an asset to the development of the hilt people, works adversely to the 'interest of the said people. This is so, in as much as the rights to administer and govern to suit the peculiar nature of the people and along the lines of their own genius have been denied to the people."

c. Influx of Unauthorised Foreigners

The in-pouring of Nepalese from Nepal in thousands rampants the Maiuipur Hills especially the Kuki inhabited areas is another growing menace to the future of the Kukis in particular and the hill people of Manipur in general. Complaints and representations have been submitted the Government to take strict measures against this unauthorised immigration. But the Government has not been paying any attention whatsoever. They ought to have taken necessary steps to have undesirable situation checked that may arise when it reaches a limit of intolerance. If the land problem is not properly taken care of the days are soon coming when the helpless tribal people of will be subjugated to all sorts of exploitations.

d. Reckless Issue of Passport and Land

Added to the above problems enumerated, during the period from 1950 to 1961 (viz, from 18-1 1-1950, the date of re' of the Passport,

to September 1961), several thousand acres of land had been granted to- the foreign nationals in Manipur. Such lands allotted to these foreigners had been curved out of reserve fishery and forestlands, the Khaslands and grazing ground areas. As a result, the quantum of lands available for grant to the landless Kukis had been drastically reduced and tremendous strain had also been exerted on the economy of Manipur. Such serious pressure on land and economy of Manipur was that there was a decrease in the area under cultivable waste, pastures and fallow/ lands. It may be recalled that the fact that there was no more feasibility for further expansion of agriculture in Manipur had been focused. This fact was already highlighted as early as 1931 by the political Agent of Manipur in his annual report to the effect that there was no further room for agriculture expansion in the main valley. A survey was carried out by the Settlement Department in 1959-60 to determine the total area of cultivable wasteland in the valley. Only about 2000 acres of land could be classified wasteland, i.e. land available for cultivation.[3]

The aforesaid 2000 acres of cultivable waste was not adequate to meet the requirements of landless peasants because there had been 57738 landless peasants and their dependants even in 1951[4] and also because of the lands available for terrace type of cultivation in the hilt areas having already been given to the Nepali foreigners.

During the period from 1961 to 1979 the senseless policy for reckless grant of lands to the foreigners had been vigorously continued by the Government of Manipur without the least consideration of the devastating effects of such sinister policy upon the land and economy of Manipur. The foreign nationals from Bangladesh had been given lands in the Jiribam sub-division and in the Kuki areas of Saitol in Churachandpur district. The foreign nationals from Burma got lands in Moreh. The Nepali foreigners had been granted lands in the hill and outlying Kuki areas of Phaisat in Ukhrul District, Saitu, Keirao, Sagolmang Pukhao etc., in Sadar Hills and in Churachanpur District, Serou, Thanlon etc. Such diabolical policy for reckless grant of lands to the foreigners had been implemented in the teeth of determined and persistent opposition from the Kukis and the regional political parties.

Government of Manipur has adopted a decision for grant of land to the foreigners in the Moreh areas. Such decision of the

Government had been announced by the Chief Minister, Md. Alimuddin on the 6th April, 1974. Such decision was considered as diabolical conspiracy for extermination of the Kukis as a matter of fact, there is not even an inch of land in Manipur, which may be given to the foreigners. There is no wasteland in the hill areas of Manipur. All India population concentration per square mile is 312 as against 631 in Manipur. Therefore, there is no wasteland in Manipur whatsoever.

e. Grant of Homestead to Foreigners

Several thousand of foreigners had been given homestead and agricultural lands during the last many years. The number of foreigners was more than the member of original inhabitants in the Kuki areas, like Jiribam, Kangpokpi etc. These foreigners control the trade and commerce of Manipur, particularly in the Kuki inhabited areas in hills.

f. Blow to Economy of Manipur

It was also observed that unprecedented growth of population of Manipur during the period from 1951 to 1980 was due to the continued exodus of foreigners and reckless grant of lands to such foreigners. It has given a crippling blow to the economy of Manipur. As a result 85% of the population of Manipur more particularly among the Kukis has come below the poverty line. The deplorable state of affairs may be seen as given below:

g. Phenomenal Growth of Population

In 1970 - 71, rate of growth of the economy (Rs. 13 only or a little more than 8% in the course of ten years) is largely by the phenomenal increase in growth of population by 33 per 1000 per year compared to 24 for All India with the result that growth per capita income has been insignificant.

The gulf of difference per capita income between Manipur and the rest of India is a cause for social tensions militating against the cohesion of society and integrity of the country. Perhaps no more telling picture is required to bring home of the chronic economic stagnation in the state.

The issue of influx of foreigners had figured in the proceedings

of the Manipur Legislative Assembly on the 14 June 1972. In reply to a question on this issue, Md. Alimuddin the then Chief Minister said the Government of Manipur had not maintained records of the foreigners infiltrating into Manipur. Even today the Government has not yet maintained any record of the foreigners entering into Manipur. As a result it has been very difficult to ascertain the number of the foreign nationals in Manipur.

Number of foreigners as shown in the publication brought out by the census operation of India and the Statistical Department, Government of Manipur, are not reliable as proper census commemoration activities had not been properly executed in the hill and outlying areas where the villages and settlements of the foreigners have been set up.

Number of the foreigners in Manipur as on 1981 was two lakhs according to the unofficial sources. This figure appears to be reasonable in view of the abnormal increase in the population growth rate of Manipur by 33 per 1000 per year as against 24 for all India and also in consideration of the following population growth rate of Manipur during the period from 1901 to 1981.

Table.1:Trend of Growth of population (Number in Millions)

1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6		0.8	1.1	1.5

Table. 1.1: Growth Rate in 1951 — 1976

Year/State	1951	1961	1971	1976
Manipur	12.8	35.04	37.53	20.00
Assam	20.12	34.99	21.31	17.00

Ethnic Tension

This discourse may not be complete if land problem relating to the Naga is not briefly highlighted. Specific instances as caused by the NSCN (IM) for ethnic tension are galore. To give an instance, it all started with the problem of land-ownership. The NSCN (IM) imposed all sorts of taxes ever the Kukis as sources of their revenue. The Kukis refused to comply with such imposition, on the maxim, 'Pay to Ceasar what belongs to Ceasar', said the Kukis, 'They have paid to the Government whatever was due to be paid'. The NSCN (IM) had been treating the Kukis as "intruders" over their land. Thus, an atmosphere of 'ethnic tension' was fomented with the result that the NSCN (IM) served a 'quite notice' to the Kukis to leave their villages as issued on 22 November, 1992 (to be precise) by the United Naga council (UNC), over-ground wing of NSCN (IM), as per secret documentation, probably official entitled, "Does Violence get a Mandate" P.25, under the caption "NSCN (IM) intolerance of the Kuki tribe". The documentation further stated that the depredations of the NSCN(IM) against the Kukis in Manipur since the beginning of 1993 has led to the killing of as many as 242 Kukis and burning of over 1000 houses belonging to the Kukis. Such has been the viciousness of the attacks by the NSCN (IM that the Kukis had been forced to abandon a large number of their villages. The onslaught of the NSCN (IM) against the Kukis has already assumed tile proportion of a wholesale "ethnic cleansing".

Sharp contrasting premises from that of the Kukis could be observed in the case of Nagaland problem or issue.

Beginning from the early, 1950s, the Naga Nationalism gained momentum and was accelerated with the election of A.Z. Phizo as President of the Naga National Council (NNC) on December 11, 1950. Under the leadership of Phizo, the Nagas conducted plebiscite of May in 1951 in which it was claimed 99.9% of the Nagas voted for independence. The plebiscite emotionally integrated the various Naga tribes and boosted the morale of the movement.

Most scholars agree that the whole Naga problem was ineptly handled by the then police and administration. The banning of the NNC in 1952 was a blunder, which compelled the leaders to turn underground

once and for all. The movement was given its first martyr when an Officer of the Assam Police shot dead Zasihito Angami of Jotsoma village on October 1 8, 1952 during the public demonstration. The ban was a blunder because Delhi did not realize the popular support the NNC had at that point of time.

An opportunity to settle the problem once and for all came when the Prime Ministers of India and Burma visited Kohima on March 30, 1953. But the then Deputy Commissioner of Kohima, for reasons best known to him, did not allow the Nagas to submit a memorandum to the visiting Prime Ministers. The several thousand Nagas gathered at the venue to receive the VIPs turned and left the ground enmasse when they learnt that they were not to make themselves heard before the Prime Ministers. This was, indeed, a turning point in the history of the Nagas.

It is agreed that political will was lacking somewhere down the line. But more important, awareness of each other's way of life and reasoning was deplorably inadequate and thus, the impasse.

All the same, the abduction, torture and killing of T. Sekhrie, the most trusted friend of Phizo who wrote letters on behalf of Phizo by his own people saw the splitting of the movement into two with the majority of the Nagas finding themselves literally between the devil and the deep blue sea - on the one hand, the Indian troops who harassed, tortured, raped and herded villagers into concentration camp and burned their greeneries, and on the other hand, for the first and severest time in the history of Naga movement for self-determination, Nagas begun to hunt, torture and kill fellow Nagas which understandably, divided the sympathy of the Naga people. The movement too was divided and fell into disarray. Several thousand Nagas were killed, several more were tortured in the most inhuman manner and the rest - innocent public - suffered in the agony of having their loved ones killed and - theirs' was but to live in perpetual fear. They feared the Indian Army, and they also feared their own people in the jungles. They neither liked the hemmer nor the anvil.

The contrasting concepts of the movement of the Kukis and the Meiteis on the one hand and that of the Nagas on the other were

poles apart. While origins of movements of the two communities, Kukis and Meiteis, based on democratic principles, it was one of violence, terrorism, etc. right from the beginning in the case of Nagas, as already said above.

CONCLUSION
(Concept of Naga Sovereignty, a Myth :)

The Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee (NPCC) in its sincere attempt to project the existing movement of the Nagas for attainment of Sovereign State expressed in no ambiguous terms to the effect that the fundamental assumption underlying the notion that Statehood compromised the sovereignty of Nagas, was that the Nagas were a separate independent entity from time immemorial till the British rulers conquered them

Therefore when British left India in 1947, the Nagas should have reverted to their independent status. Prima facie, this sounds very attractive proposition, but is really true? Let us not be misled by words like 'time immemorial'. Did the Nagas have an independent political existence at all immediately before the British rule or even during the British days? Were they really an independent nation? A political entity or a nation has to be based on historical facts. It presupposes existence of a definite political structure that governs a clearly demarcated area of land which is inhabited by a people who accepts this arrangement and had close contacts with each other. It also demands that the political structure would be either a monarchy, a democracy, an autocracy, an oligarchy, a dictatorship or any other structure that is universally accepted by political scientists as an independent, self-governing and well-defined political entity' or a nation. Other areas in the North-East like, Assam, Manipur, Tripura and the Kacharis had their territories and their kingdoms. Did the Nagas have?

The stark and inescapable truth is that neither did they have a definite and unified political structure and nor did they exist as a nation. They were actually a group of heterogeneous, primitive and diverse tribes living in the far-flung villages that had very little in common and negligible contact with each other. Education did not exist and awareness

about the world outside was totally absent. Each village was practically an entity in itself A village does not make a nation. The main contact between villages was through the savage practice of head-hunting. Mutual suspicion and distrust was rife. People led an insular and isolated life. Intercine warfare was the order of the day. There was no trust or interaction between different tribes. In these circumstances, the question of 'Unified Naga Nation' did not arise. No one can dispute these historical truths. There is enough documentation recorded by the British administrators some as late as the end of the 19th Century, which gives the correct picture as it existed. One cannot ignore such historical evidence and rely on emotional outburst alone.

The Nagas continue to claim that they were an independent nation till the British conquered them. Did they have a boundary for their nation? As late as the 1940s, when British rule was almost over, large parts of today's Nagaland did not even exist on their maps. Instead of showing villages the maps showed large blank white spaces with the words "Unadministered and "Unsurveyed". Did they have a ruler or a Government? The writ of a village chief did not extend beyond his village. Did they have a capital city where the Government sat? The British Deputy Commissioner sat at Kohima out of convenience. Was this the capital of the independent Naga nation that they claim existed before the British? Did they have a currency or a coinage like other kingdoms or nations? Did the Nagas have common laws, rule and regulations for their nation as a whole? Did they have an administrative apparatus to look after the welfare of the people? Did the Nagas have roads that linked the nation? The answer to all these are obviously in the negative. These questions cannot be ignored, especially by those who are educated and claim to be the intelligentsia of the Naga society. Let them face the reality that existed. Let them not distort history and let them not fool them any more. The plain fact is that they never existed as an independent, unified nation at any time in their history. Yes, each village existed independently, but is that the equivalent of a Naga Nation? Even the names Naga or Angami or Ao or Sema or Chang were unknown. They called people of different tribes by other names.

The Nagas led a primitive and brutish life in their villages,

uncivilized and unlettered. The word of Christ was unknown and unheard of. Life beyond the village boundaries was unknown. Justice was rough and summary. Diseases went unchecked. Slavery was common. People lived and died without ever leaving their villages. They had no idea of the concept of a nation or independence or nationhood. Is it right to make these tall claims that the Nagas were an independent nation before the British conquered them? At least, let them be honest about their ancestry and their history. Nagas always prefer honesty to falsehood, however painful the truth may be

The then Naga way of life is best summed up by RB McCabe who, writing about the Nagas in the 19th century, says "*Grouped in small communities of from 100 to 3000 persons, the Nagas have remained isolated on their hill tops, only deigning to visit their immediate neighbours when a longing for the possession of their heads become too strong to be resisted*".[5]

Notes & References

1 Bose, JK, Glimpses *of Tribal Life in North East India*, Calcutta, Indian Social Research and Applied Anthroplogy, 1980, Pp. 22-31.

2 *Aid-Memoir to the Prime Minister of Indi, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee for immediate creation of Kuki Land', dt, 8 April 1988 by Kuki National Front.*

3 GoM, *Manipur Gazetteer 1963*, Imphal, P.206.

4 *The 1951 Census Report and Manipur Gazetteer,* 1963, Pp. 203.

5 NPCC, *Bedrock of Naga Society*, Kohima, June 2000, Pp. 6-8.

10

ROLE AND PLACE OF INDIGENOUS KUKIS IN UPHOLDING NATIONAL UNITY OF MANIPUR

INTRODUCTION

It is incumbent that before proceeding with the subject matter it is imperative to find out what was Manipur like, and where did it stand before and after the British conquest. In doing so it is important that the concept of state territorial boundary and the origin of the people concerned particularly that of the Manipuris (Meiteis) and the Kukis need to be briefly assessed for proper understanding of the subject matter in its right perspective.

BACKGROUND

Mc Culloch[1] said that boundary of Manipur was not well defined and would much depend upto the extent to which the Maharaja of Manipur might spread his influence among the hill tribes in the directions wished to focus his attention. And so said Reid, then Governor of Assam thus,[2]

> "The boundaries of the state do not enclose cultural unit, but are rather a mixture the limits upto which the Manipuris of the valley were in the past able effectively to extract tribute from the hillsmen whom they despise,

for in the eyes of a Manipuri a hilisman is on altogether a lower plane of human life He could however be made a source of profit, and till. 1891 as much tributes as possible was extracted from the hills while not a rupee was spent for their benefit"

Mc Culloch further contended that the concept of "Manipur' according to the Manipuris was limited to the "Valley of Imphal" which they called "Meitei Leibak", the Burmese "Kathe", the Bangalis "Moglai" and the Assamese "Makle" Despite the fact that the Manipuri extended their influence to the areas surrounding the valley of Imphal and beyond, the Maharaja of Manipur did not establish his authority and extend administration to the areas thus conquered. It was believed that such was the sole point of weakness on the part of Manipur for which "Kabaw Valley" was lost to Burma. The Burmese on their part asserted that though it was under the conquest of Manipur no administrative jurisdiction was extended and their authority established They claimed that the land belong to them and that they had a permanent administration and authority established over the valley at that point of time of dispute resulting in the entering of Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826

ORIGIN OF MANIPURIS

Mc Culloch observed that the origin of the Manipuris is obscure, and the written records having been mostly composed since they became Hindus, are not worthy of much credit. From the most credible traditions the valley appears originally to have been occupied by several tribes, the, principle of which were Khuman, Luwang, Moirang and Meitei. In course of time the Meiteis subdued all other tribes, and the name Meitei became to denotè all the four tribes mentioned above. Since their conversion to Hinduism, the Meiteis claimed for themselves a Hindu descent. Pemberton in his "Report on the Eastern Frontiers rejected the claim and asserted that "we may safely conclude them to be descendants from a Tartar Colony from China". But Mc Culloch disagreed with this view and claimed that from the conclusion drawn by Pemberton there was more ground to be contended with, that the Meitei were descendants of the surrounding hill tribes. The myth of

origin is shrouded in the hypotheses of mystery.

ORIGIN OF KUKIS

According to R.Brown[3] the Kukis came to Manipur only sometime in the 1830s and lived with Manipur since then. They came from the south-west of Manipur and initially lived in the hills to the south and west of the valley of Imphal. Similarly Johnstone[4] observed that the Kukis were first heard of in Manipur between 1830 and 1840 and that they were of the same race with the Manipuris. The new wave of Kuki immigrants came by about 1845 in the hill tracts in great numbers that caused much anxiety to the Maharajah of Manipur.

II

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS KUKIS OF MANIPUR

KUKIS EXPOSED AS BUFFER TRIBE ON SETTLEMENT

On their entry to Manipur the Kukis drove away many of the older inhabitants who met "them with hostility. Fortunately, said Johnstone, the then Political Agent of Manipur, Lieut. Mc Culloch,' was a man well able to cope with the situation. Cool and resolute he at once assessed gravity of the situation and faced the difficulty with determination. Manipur was by that time under severe internal quarrels, and if left to the then ruler, Nursingh could have done nothing. Being preoccupied with the problems of the Royal family, management of the situation due to new arrivals of Kuki immigrants was left in the hands of the British Political Agent in Manipur

Realising that as new 'immigrants immediate object for the Kukis was to secure settlement and land for cultivation. Mc Culloch settled them down on their arrival allotting them lands in different places according to their numbers and where their presence would be useful exposed frontier. He advanced them large sum from his own pocket assigning different duties to each chief's followers. Thus, in no time, many thousands of ferocious Kuki were settled down, and colonial Mc

Culloch retained supreme control over them to the last. So great was his influence that he had only to send round his silver mounted (Burmese dao) a kind of fiery cross, when all able-bodied men at once assembled at his summons. By this, it is evident that the Kukis were convenient tools to safeguard integrations of the areas of, influence of the Maharajah of Manipur on the one hand and to serve interest of British on the other, a sharp knife with a double edge.

GENERAL IMPACT OF BUFFER POLICY

Success of Mc Culloch's policy of planting Kukis as buffer tribes on exposed frontiers was highly appreciated which received wide publicity as could be evidenced from the comment given by "Times"[5] in its issue on April 1,1892, writing as, "The influence exercised by Colonial, Mc Culloch as a Political Agent at Manipur was most beneficial and since his time one has been more successful than Colonel Johnstone "It, therefore, attracted the attention of the Government of Bengal to try a similar experiment and a large colony of Kuki was established in 1855 in the neighbourhood of Langting to act as a barrier for North Cachar against the raids of the Angami Nagas. In fact while serving as buffer tribes against the Nagas, it also had positive impact as could be observed from mutual respect and friendship develop-ed' between, the Jampi Chief of present Taménglong District of Manipur and the chief of Khonom (Angami Naga) the village wherefrom A.Z. Phizo hailed in Nagaland which still continues to exist. The extent to which the above experiment of the Government of Bengal was successful could be understood as remarked by Johnstone in the following words, "The experiment answered-well to a certain extent, and would have answered better, had we been a little less timid."[6]

PARTICULARISED IMPACT OF BUFFER POLICY

The south-east corner of Assam sandwiched between Tripura State and Myanmar is the abode of the Kuki tribes. They also reside in all the present districts of Manipur. They are also found to inhabit the entire Chin Hill state of Myanmar. There are pockets of Kuki habitation on the eastern part of Tripura, Sylhet and Chittagong Hill Tracts of

Bangladesh, North Cachar Hills, Cachar and Mikir Hills Districts of Assam and so also in the areas closed to the Dimapur valley of Nagaland. Thus, the Kukis are found settled under the administrative jurisdictions of several States and Countries. They form a mingling of clans, speaking dialects of the same language, who are known by various names, such as, Kukis, Lushais(Mizos), Pois, Shendus and Chin (Zomi). They were under no obligation of subjugation of any authority. They were independent tribes. In this connection Mc Culloch observed:

> Before the connection of the British Government with that of Munnipore took place, the latter, not to speak of exerting influence over the tribes, was unable to protect the inhabitants of the valley from their aggressions, or to resist their exactions of blackmail and even after the conclusion of peace with Burma, and the fixation of a boundary for Munnipore, the majority of the tribes were independent and known to us little more than by name. With the assistance of the arms and ammunitions given by the British Government; some of the tribes have been thoroughly, the northern ones partially, reduced, and the attacks of the latter on the bordering Burmese have led to apprehensions of the interruption of the general peace of the Frontier'.

ANGLO-MANIPURI RELATIONSHIP SNAPED, 1891

It should be recalled here that the Maharajah of Manipur and the Kuki Chiefs were on good terms as allies for years on equal footing. While they had direct contact and understanding with the British authority on matters relating to their welfare and development through a Durbar, the Kukis also had full responsibility and mutual respect for each other with the Maharajah of Manipur on political relationship. This was how the triangular relationship between the Kukis, the British and the Maharajah of Manipur was maintained. However, it so happened that the good relationship between the Maharajah of Manipur and the

British was snapped in the year 1891 which resulted in the subjugation of the former by the latter. In the 24 days struggle for power, the Kuki Chiefs sided with the Maharajab of Manipur. Notwithstanding, due to distance most of the Kuki Chiefs except the followers of Chahsad Chief could not take part in the struggle though a compromise was to have, taken place later after the close of the issue

It can be observed that the role and place of the Kukis in the entire length of the history of Manipur till the end of the Anglo-War, 1891 were indispensably one of the safeguarding integration of Manipur and consolidation of the authority of the Maharajah in the surrounding hill areas of the valley of Imphal acting as buffer tribes, and convenient tools to achieve political gains of the British and the Maharajah of Manipur. The construction towards upholding of integration of Manipur may in no small amount be measured. The sacrifice of the Kukis for the transformation of antiquated feudal oppressive influence was commendable in unequivocal terms.

III

ANGLO-MANIPURI RELATIONSHIP SNAPED, 1917—1919

Then came the historic fateful big event of 1917-19, known as "Kuki Rebellion" to the British, "Khongjai Lal"[7] to the Manipuris, "Thadou Gal" or "Zou Gal" to the Kukis and their cognate tribes. As earlier said, the Maharajah of Manipur and the Kuki Chiefs were allies, and obviously, on matters of importance, mutual consultations preceded any decision. The Maharajah of Manipur did not observe such procedure of dignity. By such unilateral decision, the Maharajah of Manipur committed to the British that he would send the Kukis to France in their war effort to man non combatants behind the battle front.[8] This incurred the displeasure of the Kuki Chiefs. In protest against such unauthorised commitment and in consideration of political fall-out that might have ramifications of consequence at the higher level, the Kukis refused to comply with the appeal of the British India Government which resulted in a long drawn battle of more than two years between the Kukis and the British expansionists Imperialism.

The fact was however twisted through the journals of Calcutta base and highlighted in the Newspapers as being skirmishes occurred during the tourings of the British bureaucrats in the hill areas of Manipur and so also a an attempt to cover up the mistakes of the Government on the issue, said Shakespear[9].

Whatever might have been the attributes or causes of the 'Khongjai Lal' it had a special place because of its unique character.[10] It was the first and only time in India's military history that an entire military campaign lasting nearly three years was directed and fought under the command of General Sir Henry Keary and Brigadier General Macquid with their respective Command Headquarters at Kendat, Burma and Field Headquarter at Imphal solely by forces comprising of more than 2400 Assam Rifles Brigade and 3, 00 of the Burma Military Police. As a matter of fact, these military operations against the Kukis during 1917-1919 were '... recognised as part of the Great War (World War I) and General Service Medal was given to those who took part in them"[11], said Reid, then Governor of Assam[12].

While the Assam Rifles can be proud of for having managed and conducted a major Military operation which surpassed all previous operations including that of the ones supposed to have been the largest operations as conducted by General Tregear in the Lushal Hills in the 1880s, General Penn Symonds in the same period in the Chin Hills and General Bower in the Ahom Expedition, 1911-12[13] the Kukis were proved definitely a formidable foe to fight against.[14]

SUPPRESSION OF THE KUKIS AND ITS IMPACT

After suppression of the Kukis in 1919 the British introduced certain innovative measures[15] for consolidation of powers and better administration of Manipur that heralded the dawn of modern system of administration. They are -

1. State boundary of Manipur defined and well demarcated;

2. State Darbar for administration of the hill areas surrounding the valley of Imphal continued with improvements in the system;

3. The Governor o Assam made the appellate authority in the

event of differences between the Maharajah and the Darbar a measure that has an effect of virtual removal of the hill areas from the jurisdiction of the Maharajah;

4. setting up of three administrative sub-divisional headquarters at

a) Tamenglong – North-west Sub-Divisional Headquarters with William Shaw appointed as SDO.

b) Ukhrul - North-east Sub-Divisional Headquarters with LR Peter as SDO

c) Churachandpur - South-west Sub-Divisional Headquarters with Casper as SDO

BUFFER KUKIS VIS-À-VIS INTEGRATION OF MANIPUR

The opening of Sub-Divisional Headquarters is direct outcome of the Anglo-Kuki war. The primary purpose, of it was to checkmate recurrence of Kuki armed struggle at the same time to continue planting of the Kukis as Buffer to ward off elements that were active against the interest of the state. In fact, the 'Khongjai Lal', which was treated as part of the World War I, marked the watershed in the administrative history of Manipur. Decentralisation of the administrative system paved the way for the extension of authority of the Maharajah of Manipur on lasting basis replacing practice of occasional raiding to extract payment of tributes from independent tribes inhabiting the hills surrounding the valley of Imphal. It also consolidated control of the Maharajah of Manipur over the hill tribes ensuring integration of the state

CONFIDED KUKIS

What a paradox? Despite the fact that there was so much of enmity and bitterness between the British and the Kukis that erupted into prolonged warfare, the former was convinced to repose confidence on the latter as to utilise them in the unofficial part of the administration in their respective areas to ensure their unqualified loyalty to the government. No wonder the remark given by Dr. J.H. Hutton might have moulded to rely on the Kuki Chief. Hutton's remarks went as follows:[16]

"When I first met the THADOS (Kuki) acquaintance and for years after, I regarded him merely as an administrative nuisance. ... The operations against the rebellious Thado of the Manipur state in 1918 and 1919 led to a very much better acquaintance with him, and from then onwards the more I have seen of the Thado, the most I have respected him and the better I have liked him. For pluck, intelligence, and straightforwardness and cheerfulness he stands high among his neighbours"

CONCLUSION

I am confident that as we recall briefly the historic past events of Manipur wherein the Kukis were active participants, their role and place were made crystal clear in regard to upholding of the integration of Manipur. It may be stated without pretending to speak with exaggeration that the Kukis have all through the history of Manipur have been the sole guardians to uphold integration of Manipur. With due regard to the Manipuri and the Naga brethren it should be said that while they are lost at cross-roads of propagating their own cause which breeds enmity, hatred, antagonism, disunity, social disharmony etc., among different sections of society, the Kukis were lost in the din to be given their due place in the history of Manipur, and were left unsung and unheard of. As is the maxim, History repeats itself so shall the Kukis continue to shoulder their responsibility of safeguarding the territorial integration of Manipur notwithstanding what may say about them?

As for the question of upholding the unity of Manipur, I sincerely feel that there is hardly any word commensurate to qualify the same. Where does the question of 'Unity' arise, where should it be fitted in for what purpose should the Kukis strive for it. There are diverse social views and polarised political aspirations to be fulfilled by various communities. By a stress of imagination one could say that the Kukis, the Nagas and the Meiteis live very closely together for many a generation. But there were only relations not pertaining strictly to friendliness, unity and solidarity. I think the appellation 'unity' has no

relevance in our present context.

What are we to be united for, and who to be blamed with, if we fail to do so under the existing circumstances?

God is great. I only pray that He will give us that big 'unity' we crave for from heaven like the biblical 'Mana'.

Notes & References

1 Mc Culloch Major, *Valley of Manipur*, ..., Shahzada Bagh, 1857, P. 1.

2 Reid, Sir Robert, History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam, Delhi, 1942, Pp. 87 – 88

3 Brown, R., *Statistical Account of Manipur*, ..., 1874 P.74

4 Johnstone, Sir James, *My Experience In Naga Hills, ...*, 1879, Pp. 25 - 26):

5 Daily Newspaper

6 *N.4., P.27.*

7 'Lal' is a Manipuri word which literally means war.

8 Letter No. 123 W dated February 2, 1917 from B.C. Allens, Special Officer, Govt. of Assam, Shillong, to the Political Agent, Manipur, Lt. Col. H.W.G Cole

9 Shakespeare, Col. L. W., History of Assam Rifles, ..., 1929, P. 235.

10 Palit, D. K. Major General, Sentinels of the Northeast,....., 1984.

11 *N.9.*, P.237.

12 *N.2.*, P.166.

13 *N.9.*, P.235.

14 *N.10.* P.61.

15 *N.2.*

16 Shaw, William, *Footnotes of Dr. J.H. Hutton on the Thadou Kukis*, Govt. of Assam, 1919, P. 23.

11

PROBLEMS OF IDENTITY CRISIS AMONG TRIBALS OF MANIPUR

If we go through Anthropological literatures we find more than 150 definitions of tribe some contradicting each other and some others coincide with each other in one way or the other. As an instance during the early years of colonization of India by the British the present day castes, such as, Jats and Rajputs, have been referred to as tribes by Todds and others.

I, M Lewis defines[1] defines tribal society as small in scale, restricted to the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal, and political relations and possessing morality, religion and worldview of corresponding dimensions. They execute a remarkable economy of design and have compactness and self-sufficiency. They have unity and coherence of their own values that are ultimately related to social institutions. They are supremely ethnocentric.[2]

Article 7 of the Constitution of India specifies certain safeguards for various tribes and tribal areas of the country on the basis of various surveys and census figures have scheduled and recognized various tribal societies and give them all the protections and reservations in Governmental and autonomous bodies from time to time.

In short, the main criteria of a tribe are homogeneity, self-sufficiency, cultural and customary rigidity and ethnocentricity.

The Government of India had recognised 33 tribes in Manipur

and 16 tribes in Nagaland. The tribes of Nagaland and Manipur can mainly be divided into two main groups - The Nagas and the Non-Nagas. The Non-Naga tribes were given a blanket or generic term 'Kuki' by the administrators of the British India Government and the earlier anthropologists in view of the above definition of tribe. Both of these groups have got a number of tribes or sub tribes or clans and both of them have got their inherent customs, cultural values and the social institutions, which are basically different from each other. The Naga whether they are Tangkhuls, Mao, Angami, Ao, etc. still maintain the nomenclature 'Naga' with a spirit of Naga Nationalism despite their extreme heterogeneity and non-inclusion in the list of tribes as against the Kukis who have got themselves fragmented into smallest possible units of Thadou, Paite, Hmar, Gangte, Vaiphei, Lushai, Kom, Chiru, Simte, Zou etc. based strictly on their genealogical hierarchy reducing in most cases into groups of insignificant few hundreds. They always remain disunited asserting for their separate identities.

While scheduling these and many other tribes in the country the Government took into consideration the smaller ethnic identities and made the list of such tribes enormously big that sometimes it becomes very difficult to maintain a proper track on the names of these tribes. What is expected is that the Government should take a fresh look on scheduling the tribes and ensure less controversy.

On various occasions new dimension of awareness was observed among the 'Kukis' and the 'Nagas'. Among the Nagas the term 'Naga' appears to be a cementing force of unification through alignment of many groups in many parts of the region, It had even succeeded in enticing some tribes, such as, Anals, Marings etc of the old Kuki as per Shakespear's classification to their fold.

Among the Kukis, however, while some groups staunchly espoused for adherence to the conventional nomenclature of 'Kuki' despite its complete deletion from the list of the recognised tribes of Manipur for a common identity of all the Kuki tribes, other groups propounded the 'Chin' theory with an avowed policy of creating a 'Chinland' for all the Kuki tribes, on the plea that the term was being used in Burma for the same group of people who were known as Kukis in India. Yet another group advocated 'Mizo' as the most

acceptable appellation with an argument that the other term 'Kuki', was obsolete and, therefore, unacceptable, and that the second term 'Chin' being used in Burma, it was as good as a counterfeit term.

Every effort to bring all the erstwhile Kuki tribes under the banner of one nomenclature having failed, more confusing new ideas came up and some people advocated the term 'Zomi', meaning thereby 'Hill People'.

Another sect advocated a new nomenclature which had the accommodative element and the most compromising identity in favour of phraseology 'CHIN-KUKI-MIZO'. The latest exponents of a common identity for the Kukis were those who professed the term 'CHIKIM' in an acronym form 'Chi' from Chin, 'Ki" for 'Kuki' and the letter 'M' from 'Mizo'. CHIKIM is now a word conveying the literal meaning of 'complete tribes' or 'All Nations'. - The term has not yet gained much currency though increasingly becoming popular.

It may be noted that the term 'Mizo' is a new terminology adopted with some political motivation. If the term 'Kuki' is rejected on the ground that it is derogatory and foreign to the people to whom it is applied there are similar grounds for rejection of the term 'Mizo', which is a derivation from the words used by the 'Sailo' chiefs to denote their subjects as 'Mizotute' or 'Mizote' in a derogatious sense that 'Mizotute' or 'Mizote' were the people dependent on the Sailo chiefs, and their wealth. Subservient as they were to their Sailo Masters, the subjects recognised the terms thereby accepting the Sailo authority and their subordinate position as a "people dependent on others", Secondly, not to speak of its derivation and its ultimate implication, the term 'Mizo' has a literal meaning which indeed is ridiculous 'Mi' means "man', 'ZO' means 'Hill'. Therefore, the term 'Mizo' means 'Man-Hill' or 'a man who looks like a hill'.

It is also a fact that in Mi language, 'Hill is called 'Tlangmi' and 'son of the hill' as 'Zofa'. If such terms are to be used in the same wayh 'Mizo' is coined, 'Tlangmi' and 'Zófa' are be termed as' 'Mi-Tlang and 'Fazo' which carry entirely different meaning if not a total cipher. Hence, nobody says 'Mi-tlang and 'Fazo' but 'Tlang-mi' and 'Zofa', Thus the term 'Mizo' is no less derision and foreign than 'Kuki'.

Indeed, it is admirable that despite such a situation wherein different ethnic groups, being prisoners of indecisions, are clamouring for a identity by inclusion of their groups in the scheduled list, the Thadous and their cognate tribes stick to their traditional nomenclature, Kuki, without any inhibition or the slightest concern as to what does the term mean. Recognition and advancement of the people have nothing do with the terminology being employed to denote them. What matters to them was the unity and outlook of the groups of people who bear the terminology as their common identity. Undue importance given to the terminology to denote the tribes or ethnic groups only manifests the abysmal narrow mindedness and parochialism in approach.

In as much as beauty is only skin-deep, so is clamouring for terminology superficial and negative to unity. Fanaticism cannot bring glory, and is divorced from pragmatism and far-sightedness, which forfeits political sagacity and statesmanship. It is, therefore, clear that, while the Nagas are united under the blanket term 'Naga' identity, accepting whatever tribal appellation being given as individual group identity in the scheduled list, the Kukis are engrossed with the problem of finding a common identity, being in the doldrums to accept the term 'Kuki' as such.

It may be said that there are factors that contribute to such differences in acceptability or otherwise of the term 'Nagas' and 'Kuki' which may be attributed to the defective system of scheduling the tribes in Manipur. The prime factor is environmental influence. Every Naga tribe, be it Tangkhul, Mao or Kabui, occupies a compact well-knit, well-demarcated, well-defined areas contiguous to the other tribes. The Tangkhul areas are exclusively occupied by the Tangkhuls and other Naga tribes of significant number mix with them. Likewise the Mao, the Maram, the Kabul Naga tribes occupy their respective areas without mixing with other Naga tribes. The only significant tribes mixing with each of the said major Naga tribes of Manipur are the Thadou Kukis. The Physical proximity among the Nagas being contiguous to each other makes it possible for regular social intercourse among themselves.

Thus, while maintaining their identity separately, social mobility and fusion are possible among them. They are also not very much subjected to entertain variegated opinions. Unlike the Nagas, the Kukis

are scattered all over the hill areas of Manipur. Hudson said:[3]

> "... for various reasons- economics and political, Kuki settlements exist not only in the British districts of the Naga Hills in the vicinity of Henema but also far away on the North-East of the Manipur State, in the neighbourhood of Melome and Lepvome..."

Indeed, the Kuki is to be found - almost everywhere in the State except in the territory occupied by the Mao confederacy. To emphasise the nature of their scattered habitation resulting from their nomadic habit, Hudson quoted a Kuki who told him:[4]

> ... we are like the birds of the air. We make our nests here this year, and who knows where we shall build next year.

This observation speaks of the condition of the Kukis who are possibly subjected to the influence of alien communities and tribes with whom they had long been living together. In other words, the Kukis have been greatly influenced by the people with whom they have come into contact through time and space in their approach to their ethnic identity.

The Thadous and their cognate groups live in the North East and West in Manipur among the Nagas, apart from being preponderant over other groups of Kuki in the 'south and South-West. They also live in pockets in Nagaland and Assam, and are being influenced by the example of their Naga neighbours. These groups of people are the exponents for continuance of the term 'Kuki' as a common identity. The Hmars and the Paites are the second and the third major groups of Kukis who are found mostly in the South. They have the constant social intercourse with the Chins of the Chin Hills State of Burma and the Mizos of Mizoram. The influence from the Chin Hill State of Burma and the Mizoram has in no small measure contributed to their variegated opinions on the question of common identity. The smaller tribal groups are sandwiched in between the Thadous and their cognates on the one hand and the Hmars and the Paites on the other. These groups are often influenced by the bigger groups on either side of them, and are, therefore, non-averse to adopting any of the controversial nomenclatures

for a common identity provided such adoption gives all the ethnic groups of the erstwhile Kukis a sense of solidarity and unity.

There are still smaller Kuki tribes, such as, the Aimols, the Anals, the Chirus, the Koiraos, the Koirangs, the Kom, etc.. They live side by side with the Thadous as their cognates, mainly in the Chandel dist and the Sadar Hill Sub-division of the Senapati District. There is no denying the fact that the culture, tradition, customs, manners, language, etc. of these tribes are closely allied to the Thadous and their cognate groups than any other Kuki tribes, except the Hmars with whom some of them especially the Koms, the Koiraos, the Koirangs, can converse in their respective tribal dialects. It, therefore, goes without saying that the influence of the Thadous over them in regard to the common identity was visibly great. However, non-inclusion of the term 'Kuki' in the recognised list of the tribes and emergence of the Nagas in the political arena in the whole of North-East region during the fifties and, under the leadership of Phizo attracted some of these smaller tribes to taking shelter under the political umbrella of the Naga identity. Kabui thus illustrated the Anal Kukis:[5]

> No tribe in Manipur has faced the problem of identity as the Anals. The situation in which they are now put into may have been caused by the natural desire of a minority to have an identification in community status, political aspiration with one major group or the other, The Anals and smaller groups, like Mayon, Monsang, Lamkang and Tarao by their habitate occupy such a geographical situation that they are sandwiched between the Nagas in the North and the Kuki-Chin in the South.This naturally produces constraint on their group identity. Any complication about the identity problem was injected by the British administrators who were themselves not sure of the identity of the Anals in relation to the bigger neighbours, Nagas or the Kuki-Chins. The British Colonial Rulers applied a broad yardstick of grouping a tribe within the Naga or Kuki-fold. The British officials who wrote on the tribes of Manipur were confused about the major identification

groups of the Anals, while someone called them Nagas, others called them as 'Old Kuki Tribes.

The second factor is the tribal political institutions. While the form of Government among the Nagas was democratic in nature, the Kukis had the autocratic form or despotism. Carey and Tuck observed:[6]

> The Government of the Naga tribe is distinctly democratic. Their chieftanship do not necessarily pass from father to son, but are practically dependent on the will of the tribesmen, and the Naga chiefs are, therefore, without much individual power and their rule is based on the general approval 'of the clan. The Kuki chiefs, on the other hand, invariably inherit their position by the right of birth and take initiative in all matters concerning administration of their clansmen, by, whom they are respected and feared.

Similarly, Hudson was emphatic in his tacit remark:[7]

> We are sometimes able to distinguish a Kuki from a Naga clan by the development of the Chieftain. In the former instance, into secular leader who takes only a ceremonial part in the tribal rites, and in the latter case, by the diminution the secular authority as the GAONBURA who remains the religious head of his village. Perhaps the evolution of the secular authority of the Kuki chief is due to the urgency of the need among such communities of strong administration unimpeded by 'turbulent priest'.

Indeed the nature of forming such absolute authority among the Kukis by the Chief is 'susceptible to his becoming a despot to which Carey and Tuck further observed:[8]

> The Chief may be wanting in qualifications and there may be many of other families superior in abilities, but unless he is physically quite unfit for his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted, and the usual course is for elders and advisers to assist him in his rule.

The Nagas having been under the democratic form of Government did not find anything "strange in the changes brought about

with the 'dawn of Independence in India. As a matter of fact, having had the spirit of a democrat, a Naga readily adjusted to the situation. True to his tradition, the leadership moved through the public and their opinions. But in case of the Kukis the situation was a nightmare. Their mode of thinking being dictated by individual authoritarianism, commensural to the type of Government under which they had been brought up, was misfit to the changed circumstances. The traditional leadership of the Kukis mainly provided by the Chiefs and their clansmen could not adjust to the new situation. Conversely, the Common people who saw a new horizon for commoners to move to their social hierarchy welcomed the changes that came about and asserted themselves through organized ethnic activities. This attempt came in direct conflict with, the traditional leadership, which led to the variegated opinions on the question of common Identity. While some tribes wanted to assert themselves by maintaining their separate identities and led their people through organised activities of their ethnic groups, the traditional leadership and their clansmen who constituted the bourgeoisie wanted to retain their leadership status. This posture of the dominant groups incurred the displeasure of the proletariat who wanted to get rid o the former by separately identifying themselves. Thus, the emergence of nomenclatures, such as, 'Chin' or 'Zomi or 'Mizo' or 'Khul' etc. was counterproductive of the posture of the traditional leadership and their clansmen, on the one hand, and the politicisation[9] of the tribal society by the proletariat groups on the other.

Thirdly, language factor has a great role o play. Exemplary to their political wisdom, and as witness to the process of assimilation, the Nagas are able to evolve, at the height of linguistic diversity, a cornnon language called Nagamese, a pidgin Assamese, at the National level. Encouraged by such evolution of Nagamese, the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur set a rare example by adopting Ukhrul dialect as the language of the Tangkhul Nagas. The peculiar situation of the Tangkhul Nagas is that almost every village, big or small, irrespective of physical proximity, has its own dialect. Two villagers belonging to different villages could not communicate to each other in a common dialect. One dialect was almost Greek to the other. Their lingua franca used to be the 'Meitei-Lon' language of the Meiteis of Manipur. The possibility of evolving

such a common language among the Tangkhul was due to constant social intercourse among the various dialect— groups which made assimilation and fusion favourable mainly due to Ukhrul being the centre of Political, social, and economic activities since the days of British India when the seat of administration was established there.

In contrast, the Kuki tribes while using their respective dialects or one of the dialects of the tribes can communicate among themselves as in the biblical Pentecostal days. Robert Reid[10], the then Governor of Assam, thus observed that the Kukis

> ... form a mingling of clans, speaking so far as I know, dialects of the same language, who are known to us by various names, Kookies, Lusheis, Pois, Shendus, Chin, ...

Thus, the extreme case of language similarity among the Kukis is that of the Thadous and their cognate groups who speak one and the same language popularly known as the 'Thadou language'. Both the groups accepted the term without demur till the dawn of Independence in India as an expression of solidarity. Now, the situation is changed. Instead of accepting it as a common language and as an expression of solidarity, it has unleashed disunity, enmity, tension, conflict and social disharmony among them.

The Thadou group says that the language has been known as 'Thadou Language' from time immemorial. It belongs to them, and should, therefore, be called 'Thadou language and nothing else. On the other hand, their cognates claim that the language is not the exclusive possession of the Thadous alone. It is as much as theirs and, therefore, should be called Kuki Language. At a time when social tension was at its peak, the Governrnent of Manipur issued an order to the effect that Thado language be read upto primary stage in schools.[11] This, was, however, contested by the other groups. Conceding the counter—claim of the other groups, the Government of Manipur issued another order[12], which superseded 'the earlier order relating the term 'Thadou' replacing it by 'Kuki'. This order was further superseded by the Government in 1987 which deleted the 'KUKI DIALECT' recognizing the 'Thadou dialect' as the Thadou Kuki Dialect'. In pursuance of this order, the

Board of Secondary Education Manipur (BOSEM), hasd prescribed the textbook of Thadou Kuki dialect for 100 marks to be offered as Major Indian Languages (MIL) with effect from the academic session of the year 1990 in the classes IX and X. This order took the warring group to litigation in the court of law. The result of such actions of the government had done more harm than good. A Pandora box had been opened for all concerned.

This is of conspicuous peculiarity to the Kukis that unlike the Nagas and other communities where tribal identifications are of impersonal connotations, ethnic appellations among the Kukis bear personal names. Thus Thadou is the name of the progenitor of Kipgen, Haokip, singson (Singsit) and Sitlhou. Thadou is the younger brother of Doungel and the elder brother of Chongloi, Hangshing and Touthang. The descendants of Thadou being preponderant over the others as also being more famous in reputation, colloquially 'Thadou' have been used to denote all the groups mentioned above collectively. But as time changes, thinking of the people changes. They have become more conscious of everything including their identity. Thus the term 'Thadou' being a personal name meant for the descendants of Thadou alone, other groups have refused to be so identified since recent past for it carries a deeper social value than superficially taken for granted. Such colloquial usage of the term 'Thadou' has quickened the process of disintegration among the Thadous and their cognate groups. It has indeed become the main issue of identity among the Kukis, and has therefore become the centrifugal force which derives homogeneous people into divergent tribal groups.

The main contention of the 'Thadou' protagonists is that 'Kuki' being the nomenclature denoting other ethnic groups of Kuki who do not speak 'Thadou language' as well should not be misused calling it as 'Kuki Language'. The scope and coverage of the nomenclature 'Kuki' must on no account be made narrow and limited. In the event of the 'Thadou Language' being called 'Kuki language', the term 'Kuki' automatically excludes other ethnic groups of erstwhile 'Kukis' and would, therefore, relegate the nomenclature to the level of group appellations which constitute the term 'Kuki The term 'Thadou' which is a personal name must not be treated synonymous with the term

'Kuki' which is a political nomenclature having a far larger meaning and wider scope than the term 'Thadou'

As against this, the term Naga has assumed the centripetal force, which unites heterogeneous tribal groups that converge around the Naga axis, while at the same time maintaining their separate identity zealously. Establishment of the Naga National Council, the ascendancy of Angami Zapu Phizo in the political limelight of the Nagas which took them to the path of secessionist movement in the fifties and the subsequent creation of Nagaland State in the sixties, gained momentum to propound that the term 'Naga' was not a tribe, but a The term Naga became a prestigious ethnic identity for many small tribes of erstwhile Kukis such as, the Anals, the Marings, etc. of Manipur in particular and the North-East India in general.

In the past till the end of British rule in India, different ethnic groups did object to being identified as Kukis when inter-tribal feuds were the practice of the time. The term 'Kuki' gave security and protection, and was an expression of solidarity, prestige and ethnic identity. In a resurgent India after Independence, the lofty ideals of equality, fraternity, justice, liberty, etc. of the constitution provide special provisions for growth and development of the weaker section of the people to bring them at par with other advanced communities. In doing so, certain weaker groups of people were listed as scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes. These groups no longer feel the necessity of being called Kuki. The security and protection they needed having been provided by the constitution of India, the much required expression of social solidarity by being identified as 'Kuki' was no longer felt. They feel that they should avail to the fullest extent possible of the privileges being accorded to them by the constitution of India. The total sum result was that while recognised tribes wanted to maintain their separate identities, other tribes who have, not so far been recognised created situations craving for the attention of the Government for according them the Status of recognised tribes through organised ethnic activities.

The nature of conflict and the divergent opinions in regard to their common identity among the Kukis speak of the close ethnic affinity among them also reflect maladjustment of social values among the conservative Kukis as against the adaptability of the Naga tribes to

social change.

Non-conformity of the conservative Kuki tribes to social change resulting in conflict, tension, disunity, etc, is heightened by the arbitrary and haphazard categorisation of tribes by the Government of India for which Bhowmick observed:[13]

> "The criteria relied upon by the Government in determining whether a group is a tribe, and those used by the academicians, do not tally with each other. Thus a disharmonious categorization is found to prevail with regard to the definition of a tribe.
>
> The same group of people may be considered as scheduled tribe in one 'state' and is not considered to be so in a different state. Instances are galore. We may give one example: The Bhumijas of West Bengal are not considered as scheduled Tribe, whereas the Bhumijas living in the adjoining state of Bihar are regarded as a Scheduled Tribe.

It is interesting to note that while the different tribes (Kuki) of Manipur, such as, the Haokip, the Kipgen, the Sitlhou, the Hangshing, the Gangte, the Vaiphei, the Guite, the Khawhlang (Hmar); etc. are recorded separately as tribes, in the states of Meghalaya, Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam, the same people have been listed under the generic term 'Kuki', This type of listing had, in no small measure, contributed to the crises in the ethnic identity of the Kukis in Manipur, for which Bhowmick[14] attributed categorisation of tribes as having been done without "valid Scientific definition application to a tribe".

In the foregoing discussion we have seen that the crises of ethnic identity or better we call it the division of identity as Horowitz[15] has termed, is a recent phenomenon and is the outcome of recognition of different clans of 'Kuki' tribes as separate Scheduled Tribes. Have the smaller tribes such as, Haokip, Doungel, Zou, Simte, Gangte, etc. not been listed as separate tribes and given the constitutional benefits the identity crises, mentioned above, would not have erupted and the 'Kukis' would have remained united like that of the Nagas. But still the psychological need of different smaller tribes are still insatiated and

they continue to amalgamate or incorporate themselves into differing socio-political identities such as the defunct Komrem and Zeliangrong or the aspiration of Anals, Lamkang or Monsang to adopt the 'Naga' identity. As the amalgamated and the projected identity are found to be of not much use the smaller clan identities are becoming the order of the day because of the constitutional sanctions. It is, therefore, necessary that in-depth study of the culture, customs and linguistic commonness of the Kuki tribes should be initiated to make proper modifications in the lists of Scheduled tribes in the interest of the country as a whole to arrest the fissiparous tendencies resulting from the discontentment to receive the recognition of ethnic identity.

Notes & References

1 *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 16 pp. 146

2 *Ibid*, P. 147

3 Hudson, TC., *The Meitheis*, London, 1908, P.2.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Kabui, Gangmumei, *The Anals: A Transborder Tribes of Manipur*, N. Delhi, 1985, P. 50.

6 Carey, Bertam S., & Tuck, H.N., *The Chin hills*, 1932, P. 3.

7 *N.3.*, P. 21.

8 *N.6.*, Pp. 200-1.

9 Bettelie, Andre, *Caste: Old and New* Delhi, 1969, P. 139.

10 Reid, Robert, *History of the Fronteir Areas Bordering Assam from 1883 - 1941*, Delhi, 1942, Pp. 3 - 4.

11 Govt. of Manipur, Sectt. Education Deptt., *Order* No. 17/1/72-SE, dt., 22 – 3 – 1977.

12 *Ibid*, dt. 3 – 1 - 81

13 Bhowmick, PK., *Some Aspects of India Anthropology*, Calcutta, 1980, P. 28.

14 *Ibid.*, P.2.

15 Horowitz, D.L., Ethnic Identity, eds., Glayer, Nathan, and Daniel, P. Moynihan, *Ethnicity: Theory and Practice*, 1975, Pp. 111 – 140.

12

ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY MANAGEMENT IN MANIPUR

INTRODUCTION

Manipur is a land-locked State located in the east end of India bordering on Myanmar. It comprises of a centrally located 700 squares miles of Imphal valley being surrounded by hill ranges of around 7000 square miles and is amphitheatre-like.

It is a land of multi-ethnic mosaic being inhabited by Hindu and Muslim Meiteis in the valley. The hilly areas are abode of ethnic tribal autochthones that can broadly be grouped into the Nagas and the Kukis. These two blanket or generic terms were given by the administrators of British India Government and the by-gone days anthropologists. Both of these groups have got a number of tribes, sub-tribes, clans, sub-clans, lineages and sub-lineages in elaborate details. The Nagas and Kukis also have their separate inherent origin, culture, customs, traditions, language, manners, belief, rites and rituals, methods of cultivation, form of government, etc.

As this chapter deals with exclusively the Nagas and the Kukis of Manipur, their juxtaposition needs brief account in relation to each other in the State to be highlighted. In consideration of their distinct backgrounds the Government of India divided them into a number of tribes, which are scheduled listed into '29 recognised tribes'[1] and accorded certain safeguards to them in accordance with Article 7 of the Constitution of India. For easy reference and better understanding

of their respective positions, tribe-wise populations from 1961 to 2001 as per Census of India figures, demographic distribution of ethnic tribal societies as prepared by the Directorate of Tribal Welfare, Government of Manipur and division of Kukis into Old and New Kukis as categorized by Col. Shakespear, J., as appendices I, II and III are enclosed.

One conspicuous departure from the broad division of numerous tribal ethnic groups into two generic terminologies of Naga and Kuki is that in the said recognized 29 list of tribes, there is not a single tribe that bears the nomenclature, either 'Naga' or 'Kuki".

HYPOTHESIS

If we go through Anthropological literatures we find more than 150 definitions of tribe, some contradicting each other and some others coincides with each other in one way or the other. During the early years of colonization of India by the British the present day castes, such as, Jats and Rajputs, have been referred to as tribes by Todd and others.

Lewis'[2] define ethnic tribal society as small in scale, restricted to the spatial and temporal range of their social, legal and political relations, and possessing morality, religion and worldview of corresponding dimensions. They execute a remarkable economy of design and have compactness and self- sufficiency. They have unity and coherence of their own values that are ultimately related to social institutions. They are extremely ethnocentric.

In short, the main criteria of an ethnic tribal society are homogeneity, self- sufficiency, cultural and customary rigidity and ethnocentricity. With this in view, therefore, despite non-inclusion of the two generic terms of 'Naga' and 'Kuki' in the recognised scheduled list of tribes in Manipur, the same shall be used in broad division of the 29 tribes. Now as the issue in this chapter is on the question of identity crisis among the ethnic tribal societies in Manipur a brief background is imperative. It must be understood that ethnic crisis on the issue of identity is more acutely telling among the Kukis than among the Nagas.

The Nagas, whether they are Tangkhul, Mao, Kabui, etc., maintain the nomenclature 'Naga' with a spirit of 'Naga Nationalism'

despite their extreme heterogeneity, cut-throat hegemony and non-inclusion in the list of tribes. As against it, the Kukis got themselves fragmented into smallest possible units of Thadou, Paite, Hmar, Gangte, Vaiphei, Lushai, Kom, Chiru, Simte, Zou, Anal, Maring, Monsang, Lamkang, Mayon, etc., based on genealogical hierarchical orders reducing in most cases into groups of insignificant few hundreds and craved for according recognition of the GoI that resulted into clan antagonism irreparably. Obviously, this is where the Nagas, or whoever else may be, naturally could take political capital with a strong sense of 'Naga Nationalism'. Doing so, the Nagas assert that their differences are superficial and secondary and that their unity and solidarity are more basic and fundamental. On the other hand, the Kukis always remain disunited asserting for their separate identities despite their close ethnic affinity.

While scheduling these and many other tribes in the country, the Government took into consideration the smaller ethnic identities and made the list of tribes enormously big that sometimes it becomes very difficult to maintain a proper track on the names of these tribes. What is expected is that the Government should take a fresh look on scheduling the tribes and ensuring less controversy.

IDENTITY AWARENESS

On various occasions new dimension of awareness was observed among the 'Kukis' and the 'Nagas'. Among the Nagas the term 'Naga' appears to be a cementing force of unification through alignment of many groups in many parts of the region. It had even succeeded in enticing some tribes, such as, Anals, Marings, etc., to their fold who were termed as Old Kukis as per Shakespear's classification'[3]

Among the Kukis, however, while some groups staunchly espoused for adherence to the conventional nomenclature, 'Kuki', despite its complete deletion from the list of recognised tribes of Manipur, for a common identity of all the Kuki tribes, other groups rejected it on the ground that it had become obsolete derisive and foreign in its meaning and derivation, and propounded the 'Chin' theory with an avowed policy of creating a 'Chin-land' for all the Kuki tribes on the plea that the term

was used in Myanmar for the same groups of people who are known as Kukis in India. Yet, another group advocated 'Mizo' as the most acceptable appellation with an argument that the other term 'Kuki' was obsolete and, therefore, unacceptable, and that the second term, 'Chin', being used in Myanmar, it was as good as counterfeit currency.

Every effort to bring all the erstwhile Kuki tribes under the banner of one nomenclature having failed, more confusing new ideas came up for consideration, and in the process, some people advocated the term 'Zomi', meaning thereby 'lull People' or 'man of alpine climate'

Another sect advocated a new nomenclature, which had, according to them, the accommodative element and the most compromising Identity in favour of phraseology 'CHIN-KUKI-MIZO'. The latest exponents of a common identity for the Kukis were those who profess the term CHIKIM, in an acronym form 'Chi' from Chin, 'Ki' from Kuki and the letter 'M' from Mizo. CHIKIM is now a word conveying the literal meaning of 'complete tribes' or 'All Nations'. The term has not yet gained currency though increasingly becoming popular.

It may be noted that the term 'Mizo' is a new terminology adopted with motivation to supersede the term Kuki on the ground that it is derision and foreign to the people to whom it is applied. There are similar grounds for rejection of the term 'Mizo', which is a derivation from the words used by the Sailo chiefs to denote their subjects as 'Mizotute' or 'Mizote' in a derisive sense that 'Mizotute' or 'Mizote' were the people dependent on the Sailo chiefs and their wealth. Subservient as they were to their Sailo Masters the subjects recognised the terms thereby accepting the Sailo authority and their subordinate position as a "people dependent on others". Secondly, not to speak of its derivation and its ultimate implication, the term 'Mizo' has a literal meaning, which indeed is ridiculous.

'Mi' means 'man', 'Zo' means 'Hill'. Therefore, the term 'Mizo' means Man Hill' or 'a man who look like a hill'. It is also a fact that in Mizo language, 'hill-man' is called 'Tlangmi' and 'Son of the hill' as 'Zofa'. If such terms are to be used in the same way as the term 'Mizo' is coined, "Tlangmi' and 'Zofa' are to be termed as 'Mi-Thing' and 'Fazo' which carry entirely different meanings if not a total cipher.

Hence, nobody says 'Mi-Tlang' and 'Fazo', but 'Tlang-mi' and 'Zofa'. Thus the term 'Mizo' is no less derisive and foreign than 'Kuki'.

Indeed, it is admirable that despite such a situation wherein different ethnic groups, being prisoners of indecisions, are clamouring for new identities by inclusion of their groups in the scheduled list, the Thadous and their cognate tribes stick to their traditional nomenclature, Kuki, without any inhibition or the slightest concern as to what does the term mean. Recognition and advancement of the people; they contended, have nothing to do with the terminology being employed to denote them. What matters to them was the unity and outlook of the groups of people who bear the terminology as their common identity.

Undue importance given to the terminology to denote the tribes or ethnic groups only manifests the abysmal narrow mindedness and parochialism in approach. In-as-much as beauty is only skin-deep, so clamouring for terminology of identity superficial and negative to unity. Fanaticism on the matter cannot bring glory, and is divorced from pragmatism and far-sightedness, which forfeits political sagacity and statesmanship. It is, therefore, clear that, while the ethnic tribal Nagas are united under the blanket term 'Naga' identity, accepting whatever tribal ethnic appellation being given as individual or group identity in the scheduled list, the Kukis are engrossed with the problem of finding a common identity, being in the doldrums to accept the term 'Kuki' as such.

CONFLICT IDENTITY FACTORS

It may be said that there are three factors that contribute to such differences in acceptability or otherwise of the term 'Naga' and 'Kuki' which may be attributed to the defective system of scheduling the tribes in Manipur.

I). JUXTAPOSED INFLUENCE

The prime factor is juxtaposed influence. Every Naga tribe, be it Tangkhul, Mao or Kabui, occupies a compact, well knit, well-demarcated and well-defined areas contiguous to the other tribes. The Tangkhul areas are exclusively occupied by the Tangkhuls and no other Naga tribes of significant number mix with them. Likewise, the Mao,

the Maram, the Kabul Naga tribes, etc., occupy their respective areas without mixing with other Naga tribes. The only significant tribes mixing with each of the said major Naga tribes of Manipur are the Thadou Kukis. The Physical proximity among the Nagas being contiguous to each other makes it possible for regular social intercourse among themselves. Thus, while maintaining their identity separately, social mobility and fusion are possible among them. They are also not very much subjected to entertain variegated opinions. Their social juxtaposition atmosphere is exposed to outside influence the least.

Unlike the Nagas, the Kukis are scattered all over the hill areas of Manipur. Hudson' said that

> "... for various reasons, economic and political, Kuki settlements exist not only in the British districts of the Naga Hills in the vicinity of Henema but also far away on the North-East of the Manipur State, in the neighbourhood of Melome and Lapvosme...

Indeed, the Kuki is to be found almost everywhere in the State (Manipur), except in the territory occupied by the "Mao (ethnic tribal) confederacy." (Paumi, Maram and Mao). To emphasize the nature of their scattered habitation resulting from their nomadic habit, Hudson quoted a Kuki who told him:

> "... we are like the birds of the air. We make our nests here this year, and who knows where we shall build next year."

This observation speaks of the condition of the Kukis who are possibly subjected to the influence of alien communities and tribes with whom they had long been living together. In other words, the Kukis have been greatly influenced by the people with whom they have come into contact through time and space in their approach to their ethnic identity.

The Thadous and their cognate groups live in the North-East and West in Manipur among the Nagas, apart from being preponderant

over other groups of Kuki in the South-East and South-West. They also live in pockets in Nagaland and Assam, and are being influenced by the examples of the Naga neighbours. These groups of people are the exponents for continuancet of the term 'Kuki' as a common identity. The Hmars and the Paites are the major groups of Kukis who are found mostly In the South. They have the constant social intercourse with the Chins of the Chin Hills State of Myanmar and the Mizos of Mizoram. The influence from the Chin Hill State of Myanmar and the Mizoram has in no small measure contributed to their variegated opinions on the question of common identity. The smaller tribal ethnic groups are sandwiched in between the Thadous and their cognates on the one hand and the Hmars and the Paites on the other.

These groups are often influenced by the bigger groups on either side of them, and are, therefore, non-averse to adopting any of the controversial nomenclatures for a common identity provided such adoption gives all the ethnic groups of the erstwhile Kukis a sense of solidarity and unity.

There are still smaller Kuki tribes, such us, the Aimol, the Anal, the Maring, the Mayon, the Monsang, the Chiru, the Koirao, the Koireng, the Kom, etc.. They live side by side with the Thadous as their cognates, mainly in the Chandel district, the Sadar Hill Sub-division of the Senapati District and part of Churachandpur District. There is no denying the fact that the culture, tradition, customs, manners, language, origin, mode of cultivation, form of Government, etc. of these tribes are closely allied to the Thadous and their cognate groups than any other Kuki tribes, except the Hmars with whom some of them, especially the Koms, the Koiraos, the Koirengs, the Chirus, the Chothes, etc., can converse in their respective ethnic tribal dialects. It, therefore, goes without saying that the influence of the Thadous over them in regard to the common identity was visibly great. However, non-inclusion of the term 'Kuki' in the recognized list of the tribes and emergence of the Nagas in the political arena in the whole of North East region during the fifties and sixties, under the leadership of Phizo attracted some of these smaller tribes to taking shelter under the political umbrella of the Naga identity. Kabui[4] thus illustrated the Anal Kukis,saying,

"that no tribe in Manipur has faced the problem of

identity as the Anals. The situation in which they are now put into may have been caused by the natural desire of a minority to have identification in community status, political aspiration with one major group or the other.

II).POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The second factor is the tribal political institution. While the form of Government among the Nagas was democratic in nature, the Kukis had the autocratic form or despotism. Carey and Tuck[5] observed that

> "the Government of the Naga tribes is distinctly democratic. Their chieftainships do not necessarily pass from father to son, but are practically dependent on the will of the tribesmen, and the Naga chiefs are, therefore, without much individual power and their rule is based on the general approval of the clan. The Kuki chiefs, on the other hand, invariably inherit their position by the right of birth and take initiative in all matters concerning administration of their clansmen, by whom they are respected and feared."

Similarly, Hudson (1911: 21) was emphatic in his remark:

> "We are sometimes able to distinguish a Kuki from a Naga clan by the development of the Chieftain. In the former instance, into secular leader who takes only a ceremonial part in the tribal rites, and in the latter case, by the diminution of the secular authority as the GAONBURA, who remains the religious head of his village. Perhaps the evolution of the secular authority of the Kuki chief is due to the urgency of the need among such communities of strong administration unimpeded by 'turbulent priest'."

Indeed, the nature of forming such absolute authority among

the Kukis by the Chief is susceptible to his becoming a despot to which Carey and Tuck[6] further observed that the Chief may be wanting in qualifications and there may be many of other families his superior in abilities, but unless he is physically quite unfit for his position, there is no danger of his being supplanted, and the usual course is for elders and advisers to assist him in his rule.

The Nagas having been under the democratic form of Government did not find anything strange in the change brought about with the dawn of Independence in India. As a matter of fact, having had the spirit of a democrat, a Naga readily adjusted to the situation. True to his tradition, the leadership moved through the public and their opinions. But in case of Kukis the situation was a nightmare. Their mode of thinking, being dictated by individual authoritarianism, commensurate to the type of Government under which they had been brought up, was misfit to the changed circumstances. The traditional leadership of the Kukis mainly provided by the Chiefs and their clansmen could not adjust to the new situation. Conversely, the Common people who saw a new horizon for commoners to move to their social hierarchy welcomed the changes that came about and asserted themselves through organised ethnic activities. These attempts came in direct conflict with the traditional leadership, which led to the variegated opinions on the question of common identity. While some tribes wanted to assert themselves by maintaining their separate identities and led their people through organised activities of their ethnic groups, the traditional leadership and their clansmen who constituted the bourgeoisie wanted to retain their leadership status. This posture of' the dominant groups incurred the displeasure of the proletariat who wanted to get rid of the former by separately identifying themselves. Thus the emergence of nomenclatures, such as, 'Chin' or 'Zomi', or 'Mizo' or 'Khul', or 'Khur', etc. was counterproductive of the posture of the traditional leadership and their clansmen on the one hand, and the politicisation[7] of the tribal society by the proletariat groups on the other.

iii) Language factor

Thirdly, language factor has a great role to play. Exemplary to their political wisdom, and as witness to the process of assimilation, the

Nagas are able to evolve, at the height of linguistic diversity, a common language called 'Nagamese', a pidgin Assamese, at the National level. Encouraged by such evolution of Nagamese, the Tangkhul Nagas of Manipur set a rare example by adopting Ukhrul dialect as the language of the Tungkhul Nagas. The peculiar situation of the Tangkhul Nagas is that almost every village, big or small, irrespective of physical proximity, has its own dialect. Two villagers belonging to different villages could not communicate to each other in a common dialect. One dialect was almost Greek to the other. Their lingua-franca used to the 'Meitei Lon', language of the Meiteis of Manipur. The possibility of evolving such a common language among the Tangkhul was due to constant social intercourse among the various dialect groups which made assimilation and fusion favourable mainly due to Ukhrul being the centre of political, social, religious and economic activities since the days of British India when the seat of administration was established there.

In contrast, the Kuki-tribes while using their respective dialects or one of the dialects of the tribes, can communicate among themselves as in the biblical Pentecostal days. Robert Reid[8], the then Governor of Assam, thus observed that the Kukis:

> "... from a mingling of clans, speaking so far as I know, dialects of the same language, who are known to us by various names, Kookies, Lusheis, Pois, Shendus, Chin, ..."

Thus, the extreme case of language similarity among the Kukis is that of the Thadous and their cognate groups who speak one and the same language popularly known as the 'Thadou language'. Both the groups accepted the term without demur till the dawn of Independence in India as an expression of solidarity. Now, the situation is changed. Instead of accepting it as a common language and as an expression of solidarity, it has unleashed disunity, enmity, tension, conflict and social disharmony among them.

The Thadou group says that the language has been known as 'Thadou Language' from time immemorial. It belongs to them, and should, therefore, be called 'Thadou language' and nothing else. On

the other hand, their cognates claim that the language is not the exclusive possession of the Thadous alone. It is as much theirs and, therefore, should be called 'Kuki Language'. At a time when social tension was at its peak, the Government of Manipur issued an order to the effect that Thadou language be read upto primary stage in schools.[9] This was, however, contested by the other group. Conceding the counter-claim of the other group, the Government of Manipur issued another order[10] which superseded the earlier order deleting the term 'Thadou' replacing it by 'Kuki'. This order was further superseded by the Government in 1987[11] which deleted the 'Kuki Dialect' recognizing the 'Thadou dialect' as the "Thadou Kuki dialect". In pursuance of this order, the Board of Secondary Education, Manipur, has prescribed text book of "Thadou Kuki dialect" for 100 marks to be offered as MIL with effect from the academic session of the year 1990 in classes IX and X. This order took the two warring groups to litigation in the Court of Law. The result of such actions of the Government had done more harm than good. A Pandora Box had been opened for all concerned.

KUKI IDENTITY TRIBALISED

It is of conspicuous peculiarity to the Kukis that unlike the Nagas and other communities where tribal identifications are of impersonal connotations, ethnic appellations among the Kukis bear personal names. Thus, Thadou is the name of the Progenitor of Kipgen, Haokip, Singson (Singsit) and Sitlhou. Thadou is the younger brother of Doungel and the elder brother of Chongloi, Hangshing and Touthang. The descendants of Thadou being preponderant over the others as also being more famous in reputation, colloquially 'Thadou' have been used to denote all the groups mentioned above collectively. But as time changes, thinking of the people too changes. They have become more conscious of everything including their identity. Thus the term 'Thadou' being a personal name meant for the descendants of Thadou alone, other groups have refused to be so identified since recent past for it carries a deeper social value than superficially taken for granted. Such colloquial usage of the term 'Thadou' has quickened the process of disintegration among the Thadous and their Cognate groups. It has, indeed, become the main issue of identity among the Kukis, and has,

therefore, become the centrifugal force, which drives homogeneous people into divergent tribal ethnic groups.

The main contention of the 'Thadou' protagonists is that 'Kuki' being the nomenclature denoting other ethnic groups of Kuki who do not speak 'Thadou language' as well should not be misused by calling it as 'Kuki language'. The scope and coverage of the nomenclature 'Kuki' must on no account be made narrow and limited. In the event of 'Thadou Language' being called 'Kuki language', the term 'Kuki' automatically excludes other ethnic groups of erstwhile 'Kukis' and would, therefore, relegate the Kuki ethnicity to the level of group appellations, which constitute the term ' Kuki'. The term Thadou' which is a personal name must not be treated synonymous with the term 'Kuki' which is a national nomenclature having a far larger meaning and wider scope than the term 'Thado'.

In the past, till the end of British rule in India, different ethnic groups did not object to being identified as Kukis when inter-tribal feuds were practice of the time. The term 'Kuki' gave security and protection, and was an expression of solidarity, prestige and national ethnic identity. In a resurgent India after independence, the lofty ideals of equality, fraternity, justice, liberty, etc. of the constitution provide special provisions for growth and development of the weaker sections of the people to bring them at par with other advanced communities. In doing so, certain weaker groups of people were listed as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. These groups no longer feel the necessity of being called 'Kuki'. The security and protection they needed having been provided by Constitution of India, the much-required expression of social solidarity by being identified 'Kuki' was no longer felt. They feel that they should avail to the fullest extent possible of the privileges being accorded to them by the constitution of India. The total sum result was that while recognised tribes wanted to maintain their separate identities, other tribes who have not so far been recognised created situations craving for the attention of the Government for according them the status of recognized tribes through organised ethnic activities.

NAGA IDENTITY NATIONALISED

As against this, the term Naga has assumed the centripetal

force, which unites heterogeneous tribal ethnic groups that converge around the Naga axis, while at the same time maintaining their separate identity zealously. Establishment of the Naga National Council, the ascendancy of Angami Zaphu Phizo in the political limelight of the Nagas which took them to the path of secessionist movement in the fifties and the subsequent creation of Nagaland State in the sixties, gained momentum to propound that the term 'Naga' was not a tribe, but a 'Nation'. The term Naga became a prestigious ethnic identity for many small tribes of erstwhile Kukis, such as, the Anals, the Marings, etc. of Manipur in particular and the North-East India in general.

HAPHAZARD CATEGORISATION CAUSED ETHNIC DIVERGENCE

The nature of conflict and the divergent opinions in regard to their common identity among the Kukis speak of the close ethnic affinity among them and also reflect maladjustment of social values among the conservative Kukis as against the adaptability of the Naga tribes to social change. Non-conformity of the conservative Kuki tribes to social change resulting in conflict, tension, disunity, etc., is heightened by the arbitrary and haphazard categorization of tribes by the Government of India for which Bhowmick'[12] observed:

> "'The criteria relied upon by the Government in determining whether a group is a tribe, and those used by the academicians, do not tally with each other. Thus disharmonious categorisation is found to prevail with regard to the definition of a tribe.
>
> The same group may be considered as scheduled tribe in one 'state' and is not considered to be so in a different state. Instances are galore. We may give one example: The Bhumijas of West Bengal are not considered a Scheduled Tribe, wheras the Bhumijas living in the adjoining state of Bihar are regarded as Scheduled Tribe."

Similarly it is interesting to note that while the Thadou, the Zou,

the Gangte, the Vaiphei, the Paite, the Simte, the Khawhlang (Hmar), etc. are recorded separately as tribes in Manipur, in the states of Meghalay, Nagaland, Mizoram and Assam, they have been listed under the generic term 'Kuki'. This type of listing had in no small measures contributed to the crises on the conflict for ethnic identity among the Kukis in Manipur, for which Bhowmick[13] attributed categorization of tribes as having been done without "valid scientific definition applicable to a tribe."

And while tracking transformations of tribals in India, Prof. Bhowmick was convinced to observe that criteria by which a tribe is classified differ from state to state and that tribal belts are concentrated-

i. In Assam, and for that matter, in the entire North-East India Region, where a tribe is described as a group of people who are of Mongolian descent and among whom a typical social organization is found;

ii. In Madhya Pradesh as having a total origin and living in a forest area;

iii. In Orissa as of pre-Dravidan or Mongolian origin;

iv. In West Bengal as simply of tribal origin; and

v. In Tamil Nadu as following primitive and tribal way of life and whose residence is less easily accessible in the hills or in the remote areas or in the interiors of the forests, etc.

Prof. Bhowmick further observed that many States think that primitive ways of living and their clinging to the animistic type of religion are the criteria to 'schedule' a group of people as 'tribe'. He was, however, of the view that in general tribals have some common cultural patterns or ways of living though similarity of traits in material culture largely depends on ecology and geo-physical condition. Thus Prof. Bhowmick added that the following attributes are essential criteria in determining a group of people as 'tribe'. They are -

i. Lack of specialization, i.e., least functional interdependence as basic criterion to differentiate a tribe from the rest of the people;

ii. It is a fact that tribal communities are found to cling to a crude economic state or primitive type of technology which is an important common criterion;

iii. Language or dialect of their own which enables them to forge the group together as an indispensable factor;

iv. Similarly, homogeneity or lack of social stratification is another characteristic feature of tribal attribute; and

v. Group consciousness or ethnocentrism as an indispensable criterion to distinguish one tribal group from another.

In the preceding paragraphs we have seen that the crises of ethnic identity or, better we call it, the division of identity as Horowitz, D.L.,[14] has termed, is recent phenomenon and is the outcome of recognition accorded to small ethnic groups as separate scheduled tribes. Had it not been done so, and given the psychological need of different smaller tribes are still insatiated and they continue to amalgamate or incorporate themselves into differing socio-political identities such as the defunct Komrem or the aspiration of Anals, Lamkang or Monsang to adopt the 'Naga' identity. As the amalgamated and the projected identity are found to be of not much use the smaller clan identities arc becoming the order of the day because of the constitutional sanctions. It is, therefore, necessary that in-depth study of the culture, customs and linguistic commonness of the Kuki tribes should be initiated to make proper modifications in the lists of Scheduled tribes in the interest of the country as a whole to arrest the fissiparous tendencies resulting from the discontentment to receive recognition of ethnic identity.

APPENDIX - I

POPULATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES OF MANIPUR

ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1962 1971 1981, 1991 & 2001

No.	Scheduled Tribes	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	Remarks
1.	AIMOL	108	836	1862	-	3643	
2.	ANAL	4868	6670	9349	12034	13853	
3.	ANGAMI	632	70	566	-	650	
4.	CHIRU	1809	2785	3743		5487	
5.	CHOTHE	1035	1905	1687	-	2675	
6.	GANGTE	4856	6307	7891	13580	15100	
7.	HMAR	15365	23312	29216	36092	42690	
8.	KABUI [(I) Puimei (II)Rongmei	29218	40257	26006	64298	62216	
9.	KACHANAGA [(I) Zemei + (II) Liengmei]	9734	13026	12753	-	20328	

10.	KOIRAO	406	1620	919	-	1200	
11	KOIRANG	531	458	949	-	1056	
12	KOM	5477	6550	9830	13481	15467	
13	LAMGANG	1866	2622	3452	-	4524	
14	MAO	28810	33379	50715	71517	80568	
15	MARAM	4928	4539	6544	9292	10510	
16	MARING	7745	9825	11910	15580	17361	
17	ANY MIZO	2746	7483	6126	8598	10520	
18	MONSANG	1342	930	1139	-	1635	
19	MAYON	647	1360	1642		1710	
20	PAITE	17029	24755	30959	41108	44861	
21	PURUM	82	-	447	-	503	
22	RALTE	80	154	107	-	110	
23	SEMA	4	3	24	-	25	
24	SIMTE	2818	4177	5035	-	7150	
25	SUKTE	-	3	283	-	311	

26	TANGKHUL	43943	57851	79029	100088	112944	
27	THADOU	47998	59955	56466	103667	115045	
28	VAIPILEI	8215	12347	15462	25136	27791	
29	ZOU	6761	10060	12576	15887	19112	
30	OTHERS	-	1227	1290	-	75768	
	TOTAL	249049	334466	387977	541095	713813	
	MANIPUR				1110134	2388634	

Appendix — II

Territorial Distribution of Scheduled Tribes In the Districts of Manipur.

No.	Name of District	Name of Communities	Group
1	Senapati	1. Mao	(Major Group)
		2. Maram	(Major Group)
		3. Thadou Kuki	(Major Group)
		4. Kabui	(Minor Group)
		5.Tangkhul	(Minor Group)
		6. Maring	(Minor Group)
		7. Chiru	(Minor Group)
		8. Kom	(Minor Group)
		9. Koireng	(Minor Group)
		10. Vaiphei	(Minor Group)
		11. Kacha Naga	(Minor Group)
		12. Sema	(Minor Group)
		13. Keirao	(Minor Group)
2	Tamenglong	1. Kabui	(Major Group)
		2. Thadou	(Minor Group)
		3. Gangte	(Minor Group)
3	Churachandpur	1. Hmar	(Major Group)
		2. Paite	(Major Group)
		3. Thadou	(Major Group)
		4. Anal	(Minor Group)
		5. Chothe	(Minor Group)
		6. Kabui	(Minor Group)
		7. Kom	(Minor Group)
		8. Vaiphei	(Minor Group)

		9. Zou	(Minor Group)
		10. Mizo	(Minor Group)
		11. Gangte	(Minor Group)
		12. Simte	(Minor Group)
		13. Ralte	(Minor Group)
4	Tengnoupal	1. Anal	(Major Group)
		2. Maring	(Major Group)
		3. Thadou	(Major Group)
		4. Lamgang	(Minor Group)
		5. Zou	(Minor Group)
		6. Gangte	(Minor Group)
		7. Mayon	(Minor Group)
		8. Monsang	(Minor Group)
		9. Aimol	(Minor Group)
		10. Chothe	(Minor Group)
		11. Purum	(Minor Group)
		12. Mizo	(Minor Group)
		13. Tangkhul	(Minor Group)
		14. Kom	(Minor Group)
5	Imphal, Bishnupur, Thoubal	1. Kabui	(Major Group)
		2. Representatives of most of the tribes are found in small number.	
6	Ukhrul	1. Tangkhul	(Major Group)
		2. Thadou	(Minor Group)

Appendix — III.

Kuki Division on the basis of Arrival

Old Kuki	New Kuki
Aimol, Anal, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Kairao, Koireng, Kom, Lamgang, Paite, Purum, Simte, Vaiphei, Zou, Hmar	Thadous (and their other kin groups, such as, Doungel, Lupheng, Lupho, Ngoilu, Lamhao, Thangeo, Touthang, etc. etc.. which are not in the list of recognised tribes).

Notes & References

1 After 2001 Census, the number of scheduled tribes has been increased as 33 with the addition of Poumai, Kharam, Tarao and All Kuki tribes.

2 *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol 16, Pp. 146-150.

3 Shakespear, Col. J., *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, P. 147.

4 Kabui, Gangmuei, *The Anals: A Transborder Tribe of Manipur*, New Delhi, 1985, P. 500.

5 Carey, Bertram S., and Tuck, H.N., *The Chin Hills*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1932, P.3.

6 *N.4.*, P. 200 -201.

7 Betteille, Andre, *Caste: Old and New*, Delhi, 1969, P. 139.

8 Reid, Robert Sir, *History of the Frontier Areas Bordering on Assam – 1833 -1941*, Delhi, 1942, Pp. 3-4.

9 Govt. of Manipur, *Education Department, Order No. 1 7/1/72-SE, dt. 22/ 03/1977.*

10 Govt. of Manipur, *Education Department, Order No. 1 7/1/72 SE, dt. 03/ 01/1981.*

11 Govt. of Manipur, *Education Department, Order No. 1 7/1/72 SE, dt. 12/ 05/1987.*

12 Bhowmick, P.K., *Some Aspects of India Anthropology*, Calcutta, 1980, P.28.

13 *Ibid.*, P.2.

14 Horowitz, D.L., Ethnic Identity, Nathan Glayer and Daniel P.Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Practice*, 1975, Pp. 111 – 140.

13

WHITHER KUKI ETHNICITY

INTRODUCTION

Considering close affinity as manifests in their culture, traditions, language, custom, form of Government, etc., the 'Chin-Kuki-Mizo' ethnic groups cannot but be termed as one and the same people who in fact, were collectively called Chin in Burma and Kuki in India since as far back as 1777 in the days of Warren Hastings. It was the Kukis against whom "The Chief of Chittagong, a district which had been ceded to the British under Sir Robert Clive by Mir Kasim in 1760, applied for a detachment of Sepoys to protect the inhabitants against incursions of the Kukis as they were then called", said Robert Reid.

DISINTEGRATED KUKIS

With the advent of Indian Independence, situation has taken a sea change among the Kukis. They have become politically more conscious and socially sensitive. The Constitution of India ensures right to equal opportunity for all citizens and with it the Kuki Ethnicity in Manipur done away with. This was the beginning of disintegration of the Kukis. Das said, "The erstwhile Kuki tribes shown their apathy to this term. Only among the Thadous (Thadou Kukis) it is used in the context of a larger political identity".

The main factor leading to near-extinction of Kuki Ethnicity in Manipur was political. The class composition of the Kukis and their political organisation were so independent of each other that the Kukis were obsessed with the idea of inter-clan rivalries, being fostered by

the socio-political structure so designed. As a consequence, despite their being one and the same, clan-rivalries for supremacy over each other strained their relationship. But such polemic could not raise its ugly head during British administration, which recognized Kuki Chieftainship and administered the hill people through its efficient functionaries. However, after independence in India, when the public became conscious of modern political trend that espoused the principles of democracy, the inherent but hitherto latent clan-rivalries began to surface among the Kukis with the result that the process of disintegration came to a head.

Another factor was of Social. It was intertwined intricately with political factor. The Social system of the Kukis was so segmentary that every individual was made consciously aware that he or she belonged to a particular clan or sub- clan. A Kuki cannot be free from such idiosyncrasy, be educated person or otherwise. Obviously, this became a fertile breeding ground for rivalry, hatred, enmity, factionalism etc. When afterwards the Government of India started preparing list of scheduled tribes in Manipur, every conceivable group or clan aspired to get recognition by inclusion in the said list as separate tribe. In case some such aspiring tribes could not get into the list, that led to antagonism between recognized and unrecognized tribes. In the process, no one appeared to have cared, consciously or unconsciously, to belong to the Kuki tribes, and no Kuki as such had been scheduled listed in Manipur unlike in Meghalaya, Assam and Mizoram, where erstwhile Kuki tribes who now have been recognized as separate tribes in Manipur are listed as belonging to 'Any Kuki Tribes'.

IN SEARCH OF KUKI ETHNICITY

It may perhaps be due to adverse affect that severely hit Kuki society that prompted the erstwhile Kuki tribes attempted to rejuvenate their unity under common nomenclature. They appeared to have realized the fact that Naga Ethnicity had become a cementing factor to unite diverse groups of Nagas which succeeded even in enticing some tribes, such as, the Anals, the Marings, the Mayons, the Monsangs, the Lamgangs etc., of the old Kuki to their fold. Thus we find that while the Thadou-Kuki speaking groups espoused for continuance of the

conventional ethnic appellation, 'Kuki', in Manipur, other groups of people who were hitherto known as Kukis in India were searching for new ethnicities.

In doing so, one group advocated Mizo as the most acceptable appellation with an argument that the nomenclature, 'Kuki', was derogatory, obsolete and foreign in origin and, therefore, was unacceptable and that the other terminology, CHIN, being used in Myanmar, it was as good as forged currency in India.

Every effort to bring erstwhile Kuki tribes under the banner of one nomenclature having failed, more confusing new ideas came up for consideration. A group of people now strongly believe that as Kuki, Mizo and Chin ethnicities have failed to usher in unity, a terminology called 'Zomi' be accepted as their common ethnic appellation. However, this was not acceptable to protagonists of both 'Kuki' and 'Mizo'.

Yet another group now advocated a new ethnic appellation, which they claimed to have the accommodative expression and the most compromising formula. This group proposed phraseology, CHIN-KUKI-MIZO. Exponents of this phraseology gave the acronym, CHIKIM, as common nomenclature, which literally meant to convey "Whole Tribes" or "All Nationalities". This also has not gained much currency so far.

The situation thus enacted left the Thadou-Kuki speaking group behind to continue espousing the cause of Kuki Ethnicity. The main reason for refusing to accept Kuki Ethnicity by the groups who preferred Chin (Zomi) and Mizo were that the term had foreign accent in origin, obsolete in derivation and that it implied derogatory expression.

KUKI - CENTRIFUGAL FORCE

Indeed, it is admirable that though many ethnic groups who constituted the erstwhile Kuki Ethnicity had abandoned the same, the Thadous and their cognates, speaking Thadou-Kuki language, stuck to their traditional ethnicity called Kuki. To them, undue importance given to the origin or source of derivation of the nomenclature and its implications only manifests abysmal narrow mindedness and parochialism. In as much as beauty is only skin-deep, so is ethnological

nomenclature superficial and negative to unity. Fanaticism on the issue cannot bring glory, and is divorced from pragmatism and far-sightedness, which forfeit political sagacity and statesmanship.

Controversy over the Kuki Ethnicity that had been blown off with the protagonists of Mizo and Chin Ethnicities, it is still blowing hot within the Thadou-Kuki speaking group. Lehman, R.K.(11963:5) claimed that even a section of Thadou-Kuki speaking group did not like to have the appellation 'Kuki'. As a matter of fact, in 1971, a controversy that sparked off between the Thadou and their cognates due to publication of Holy Bible in Kuki had serious social and political ramifications. This led to a long drawn legal battle between the Thadou protagonists and the Kuki protagonists. The issue was that the Thadou protagonists objected to the publication of Holy Bible by Dr. T. Lunkim in Kuki, and filed a suit against him alleging that - "The present translation of the Holy Bible by Rev. T. Lunkim is entirely in Thadou dialect.... Thadou is a recognized tribe whereas the Kuki is not. Only recognized tribe has its own dialect. Rev. T. Lunkim strongly advocates the publication of the Holy Bible in Kuki just because he is a non-Thadou but speaking Thadou dialect".

The Thadou protagonists contended that the language had been known as Thadou and nothing else. On the other, their cognates claimed that the language in question was not the exclusive possession of the Thadous. It is as much theirs and, therefore, should be called Kuki. While the controversy was at its height, the Government of Manipur issued an order to the effect that Thadou be read upto primary stage in schools. This was, however, contested by their cognate groups.

Conceding to the counter-claim, the Government issued another order, which superseded the earlier order deleting the term 'Thadou' and replacing it by 'Kuki'. It did not end there. The Thadou group challenged the second order. The Government again conceded and issued a third order wherein both the terms, 'Thadou' and 'Kuki' were kept in oblique. It is now called Thadou-Kuki language. The result of such actions of the Govt. had done more harm than good. It was counter productive, a pandora box had been opened. Under the circumstances, Kuki Ethnicity appears to have become a bone of contention that breeds conflict, polarisation, enmity etc., etc. Therefore, the terminology has

turned into Centrifugal Force, which drives homogeneous groups of people into divergent tribal groups. What a contrast? As against it, Naga Ethnicity has become a centripetal Force that brings heterogeneous groups of people into its fold.

CONCLUSION

Unlike erstwhile Kukis, the Nagas do not have a common language by which they can communicate among themselves. Their lingua-franca is 'Meitei Lon' in Manipur and Nagamese, a pidgin Assamese, in Nagaland. Besides, another extreme linguistic divergence is among the Tangkhul Nagas. Every Tangkhul village has a separate dialect, be it far or near one from the other. Amazingly, they could easily overcome such language barrier in the shortest possible time. All the Tangkhul Nagas have accepted and spontaneously learned to speak in Ukhrul dialect so as to adopt it as their common language. They did it, developed the language, enriched the literature thereof and overtook the Thadou Kuki language in growth and development. The Tangkhul language has now been prescribed in schools as a full paper of Major Indian Language in classes X to XII for public examinations as recognized by the Board of Secondary Education Manipur and the Council of Higher Secondary Education Manipur.

Likewise, at the beginning of 1900, the present United Kingdom (UK) was known as British Isles. Thereafter, it was renamed as Great Britain. It is now called United Kingdom. The ethnic groups living therein are English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish. Their National identity is either British or Britons, derived from welsh ethnicity. Before the Anglo-Saxon groups came, Welsh were the original settlers who were identified as Britons. The total population of UK is 59 millions. Welsh are the smallest in population numbering around one million only. Yet, all the ethnic groups living in the UK as citizens thereof accept their common ethnicity as British or Britons, using English as their own language without any ethnic group claiming it as belonging exclusively to its own, thereby paving the way for English to grow as international language today. In India also English is one of the National languages.

The Kukis need to cultivate similar spirit of Nagas who have the spirit similar to the British or Britons.

14

FESTIVITY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF KUT

INTRODUCTION

Basic spirit of Kut Festival is to disseminate the message of peace, friendship, brotherhood, compassion, forgiveness, etc., not only among the Chin-Kuki-Mizo people but also to mankind. In Kut Festival the edifice of oneness gets strengthened, ensuring sense of oneness and friendly feelings which are central to peaceful co-existence. It is need of the hour in today's trouble-torn society. It also strengthens the social fabric that binds different groups of people together. In fact, peaceful co-existence is an age-old and glorious tradition of the people of Chin-Kuki-Mizo and every community has to contribute its mite to sustain this glorious tradition. Thus, to promote peace, unity and harmony through the spirit of Kut is bounden duty of every Chin-Kuki-Mizo (CHIKIM).

Keeping this in view, it is expedient to recall the antique and ever abiding text as it is refreshing, in that,

> "To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: a time to be born and a time to die: ... What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboureth? I have seen the travail, which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised in it.
>
> He had made every thing beautiful in his time: ... so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end.

I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice, and to do good in his life.

..... that every man should eat and drink, and enjoy the good of all his labour, it is the gift of God", thus it is written (Holy Bible: Ecclesiastes: Chap.3:1-13).

And so, has come the autumn season, when the heat of summer has mellowed down and the severe cold winter is at the door. Thus, come Autumn, it is time when Kut comes. It is harvest time for various crops. It is time for the farmers to be happy and relaxed. Their days of toiling for the year have been handsomely rewarded. The granaries are filled and cast away all the burdens of yet another year bringing contentment, which is best made to manifest in a manner no less than festivals. The weary farmers have found time for respite and recreation. Even poorest of the poor forgets his poverty striken state of affairs.

FESTIVITIES

The traditional sacrosanct lifestyle of the CHIKIM people was as wild and yet free as nature could provide them[1] They are a peculiar people that they are all equals, that they have no caste distinctions, no high or law class of people that they believe in that form of Government which prints the rule, not of majority but of the people as a whole and that they govern themselves by a Government which does not govern at all. In the life of the village, the family is a permanent institution, a conscious unit polity[2].

In the olden days Kuts were celebrated with pomp, grandeur and in a very festive mood that the occasion was the only time of complete relaxation for the people who have been toiling from early in the morning till the evening time, all through the year. There were practically no diversions from hard work and no kind of entertainment for recreation. The Festival of Kut, whatever it is styled in different tribal dialects, normally falls in the early part of autumn every year when the atmosphere and the entire landscape are surcharged with an exuberant beauty of the surrounding nature. All the year's harvests have been gathered to the barns. Yonder there on the next mountain slopes, one can see the glittering hues of the bamboo leaves reflected by the mellowing sun. There are dancing creepers, tender shoots of

plants, myriads of colour, and gurgling rivulet nearby negotiating its way down with intractable of crevices of gorges. Up on the branches of trees, of majestic heights, there were birds chirping ecstatic notes that resounded villages. It is 'bliss' to be alive with the nature around. The landscape together with the festive mood of the people with furrows on the forehead, which otherwise betrays an excruciating alliance with the soil, have brought home a tale of love, understanding, peace and hope for a brighter, more prosperous future of harvests. Now is here already the eagerly awaited days of Kut festivities at the very doorsteps of the poor and the rich alike.[3] One cannot but thank God for the abundance of blessings thus showered the year round.

Those were the days when even a morsel of food was more honoured than we do with the deed ceremoniously signed in the presence of a District Magistrate today. Any slight on a truth accepted as based on customs, precedents and usages, and the chiseled experiences of the elders of the community was not tolerated. Social evils, such as, theft, robbery, cheating, corruption, etc., were almost non-existent.

Drinking of home-brewed wine called 'Zu' was an integral part of social norms, courtesies, niceties, etiquettes, etc, that were normally associated with dignitary gatherings for decision making proceedings as per customary laws, etc. Despite widespread drinking of wine as forming part of the social life, it is amazing to see that the social evils normally attributed to liquor consumption today did rarely occur in those days. Peace of the joint family was well intact. The fact which remains is that each and every design of family as well as social life was so regulated as to bring the people to a harmonious community growth.

Today, situations and circumstances with us are altogether different. Leaving aside the prodigious professions of the tribal people in their religions, the current general tendency of our society is rather towards anarchy than culture. We are, it must be said, responsible in bringing back the invaluable tenets of our culture and traditions to our society. Should we lay bare in our Zion at ease while civilization is leading our society to chaos, we shall have no footprints left for posterity - the best that was, that stood the test of time, and of space, should be drawn out and conserved. Indifference to this bacon-call would certainly amount to the gradual degeneration of our society. It is our bounden

duty to reminisce about the past glories and human values of our culture and traditions.

The renascent Kut, though in detail aspects of its observance, seems to be far removed from the primitive ones, has nevertheless the same antique spirit and the very essence of the old traditional 'Kut'. The sweeping changes wrought by the succession of civilization, however, have not radically changed necessary human element traditionally inherent with the tribal people. Physical arrangements, among others, for the Kut festivals may wear quite a different look mainly because of modern scientific and technological advancements. Assuredly, all the people coming together and joining the Kut festival are, from time immemorial, interwoven like wefts and woofs in a closely knit social fabric which lasted for the past many generations.

Kut as a festive culture of the CHIKIM people has its intrinsic values which should be understood in its right perspective. It manifests as a living agency that communicates through generations. As a living agency, Kut has grown from strength to strength with every passing year. It has enriched itself and finds expression in the pride of the people who embrace practice of it as their cultural heritage and collective identity.

Men's intellect has a natural pride in its own aristocracy, which is the pride of its culture. Culture only acknowledges the excellence whose criticism is in its inner perfection, not in any external success.

Festivities of Kut starts from the strenuous pursuit of life for survival by the people who perform various types of Kut in praise of deities attributed to egalitarian society. These are generally observed with the arrival of new crops or after harvesting as the case may be.

The humming activities of year-round tribal life among the Chin-Kuki-Mizos revolve round the ambit of earning bread for survival without consideration for future growth and development on an agro-based economic system, which has no place for 'saving', consumption being conspicuous and community biases. Such a life of routine nature becomes obviously monotonous which must find expression in various forms of social celebrations or festivities to give vent to their longing for a life away from sacrosanct. In doing so, their structural functions of life are made often manifest in more than one way, such as, festivities of

commonly practiced celebrations among the Chin-Kuki-Mizos people. Some such common Kut festivals are – (i) Mim Kut (Kut of Job's ear); (ii) Chang Kut (Paddy Kut); (iii)Powl Kut (Gourd or harvesting Kut) and (iv) Thai Thah (Thak) Lop (Kut of new crops).

In order to strengthen their community ties, rituals associated with religious accent have been intricately built, and ultimately such observances have been identified with one or the other deities who are praised as sources of blessings received during the year.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kut as such is significant basically with agricultural activities of the CHIKKIM people. If one traces the origin of Kut among the CHIKIM, indispensability of the type of their staple food before they entered into Myanmar in the course of their migration towards the west from southern China when they lived on Millet, Maize, Sesamum, Job's ear, cucumber, pumpkin, etc, was indicative of their system of economy. It is claimed that rice became known to this groups of people only when they were in Myanmar. By such inductive analysis, it may be safely be said that Chang Kut (Paddy Kut) has become one of very big and important significant Kut festivals, the occasion of which has all through been observed in early Autumn season.[4]

The rituals of Kut and significance of various festivals gave strong elements of ethnic affinity and influence on their social life. It has also cut across the tribal boundaries and linguistic differences and also symbolizes the integrating force, emphasizing and reaffirming the sentiments of collective loyalty with the performance of collective rituals; which may as well reflect the changing aspects of society. Such changing aspects may signify creation of new aspects in the form of new traditions or re-definitions of old ones.[5] Regular annual communal festival also signifies the type of economic system, particularly by an egalitarian society as that of the CHIKIM people, being pursued by them which is devoid of saving aspect of the economy with the practice of 'conspicuous consumption' through the kind of various Kuts in festivity and communal rituals in propitiation of the gods-of-particular Kut.[6]

Observance of Kut festival by our forefathers was marked by

intricate significant rituals. On completion of the ritual aspect formalities, it soon followed by drinking, singing, merry-making, etc. It is time when even the poorest of the village forgets his state of poverty to exceed the flow of happiness and abundance.

Observance of 'Festival of Kut' annually on First November every year, as the only one collectively by the v people out of many Kut festivals that existed as per tradition is a very significant innovation so as to keep pace with the changing social dynamism. It is, indeed, a unique cultural experiment unheard of in the past. It may be borne out of common consciousness of common cultural traditions – the consciousness that CHIKIM people belong to the same family. If the same is continued in the manner it is now being observed in the right spirit, it will play in a more significant socio-cultural dimension in the years to come than it is now.

Kut has become institutionalized, thereby symbolizing unity in diversity among the CHIKIM people. Its significant role is that it has become the only effective means to preserve the valued cultural traditionalized elements for the enrichment of cultural heritage of them. No less important role it plays is that it is an effective instrument of socialization process, across communal boundary.

Our forefathers observed a good number of Kuts. Of them the one revived today is the 'Autumn Festival'. The Thadou speaking groups call it "Chawang Kut", the Mio (Dulian speaking people) call it the 'Thal Favang Kut'; and the Hmars call it 'Sikpu Ruoi'. The manner and style of the celebration among them during pre-Christian periods was more or less the same. It was much awaited Festival and they celebrated it quite oblivious of the passage of time. They were so engrossed in the festivity that they used to forget harvest time. However, the celebration was not the expression of heartless joy, but had a purpose-social purpose. It was a socialization process.

Children were introduced to wider friendship circle, young boys and girls made it an occasion to know each other more intimately. In fact, it was the right occasion to choose their life partners. They danced together, ate together and sipped together their home-brewed beers. For the chiefs and the household fathers, it was the occasion to talk

about their jhums, huntings and the village administration. In brief, the old and the young enjoyed it to the full.

Today, we review Kut after centuries of decent burial inspired by the same old spirit. Our forefathers could not cross village boundary to celebrate Kut, may be, due to physical distance proximity. But today, gone are the barriers. The world has become smaller and has, in fact, become almost global village. Thanks to scientific knowledge and development thereof. People of all places and of all caste and creed can block together within minutes of the clarion call. What an advantage do we have over our forefathers? The Kut festivity becomes now meeting of the East and the west, the South and the North, the white, the black, the beautiful and the ugly in the same spirit. The organisation is also in the nature of collective ownership and responsibility in which none can claim special status and none can disown one's ownership. In fact, it is a case study of equal say and share. Above all, the spectacular show of pomp and pageantry by the cultural troupes of different tribal groups and the display of colourful cultural costumes by the young and the old to suit the occasion show beyond all doubts that some unifying force is at work. What more means do we need to promote social relationship among us? To participate in it means to pick up new friendship, new acquaintances, and perhaps, new love. This indeed, perhaps, may be the colourful and the emotional integration aspects which the great leaders of India often talked about.[7]

As a matter of fact, these socialized merry-making, feasting, eating, drinking, dancing, etc, which are the silver-living on the pomposity, merriment and gaiety are the 'beauty as only skin-deep' aspect that may rightly be called "Beauty is a joy forever" that are indispensable outer significant coverage which have a deeper meanings, purposes that are the underlying bases. They are manifestly made in the ritualistic of religiosity in the worship of several deities attributed to the different types of Kuts associated with crops, such as, Mim Kut (Kut of Job's ear); Chang Kut (Paddy Kut); Powl Kut (Gourd or harvesting Kut) and Thai Thak (Thah) Lop (New arrivals of vegetable kinds).

CONCLUSION

Kut Festival has now assumed not only a regional significance

but also a national and international significance in the sense that its impact is no more confined to the State of Manipur but also to its neighbours within India and outside,[8] Kut festival, though a community festival originally, having come out of the limited community boundary, said Tombi further, should be welcome as an initiative to peace and harmony in the region which is now reeling under violent conflicts in the name of ethnic differences particularly in some areas of the hill region. We need meeting grounds for different communities and tribes. Political organisations can do much in the sphere of communal harmony. As of today, it appears that they are not enough. Occasions like Kut Festival could usher in a new opening towards mutual understanding and tolerance among various communities and tribes.

Under the umbrella and through the instrumentality of such Festivals, opportunities for get-together of different people can be provided. The benefit of modern education is now open to all the communities. Educated young men and women should make best use of their education and academic achievements in furthering the pursuit of communal harmony and mutual tolerance in the field of cultural traditions. Significance and benefit of Kut Festival should reach the entire people of the region as a model move towards harmony and peace for humanity as a whole.

Notes & References

1 Gangte, Dr. T.S., *Souvenir Kut Festival*, 1989, P.16.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Suonkholal Thangjom, *Kut Re-defines then Old Tradition*, Souvenir Kut Festival 1989 Pp.3-4.

4 T.S., Gangte, But for a Man to Rejoice, *Kut Souvenir,* 1989, P.19.

5 N.1 & 2., P.19).

6 *Ibid.*, P.15.

7 Lalngaurliana ,Social Relationship among the Chin-Kuki-Mizo groups, vis-à-vis Kut Celebration, *Kut Souvenir,* 1989, P.8.

8 Prof. N. Tombi Singh, Ex-M.P, *Kut: A Festival of Wide Significance*, 1998, P.3).

15

THIRTEENTH SEPTEMBER BLACK DAY

- Reminiscence of flagrant violation of Human Rights

INTRODUCTION

Since adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, reviews and assessments of progress on the subject matter have taken place. The latest instance was in the World Conference held on 14 June 1993, the largest number of people ever gathered for the purpose. According to it, Human Rights have been broadly divided into two sets of rights — one set known as Civil and Political Rights and the other as Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In the words of the Declaration, these two sets of Rights aim to give all people 'freedom from fear and want'. Both sets of rights must be protected as the 'foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the World'

It is the responsibility of governments to protect the human rights proclaimed by the declaration. Under the heading of Civil and Political Rights, all governments are to protect the life, liberty and security of their citizens. They should guarantee that no one is enslaved and that no one is subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention or to torture. Everyone is entitled to a fair trial. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to freedom of expression is to be protected.

Under the heading of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, all governments are expected to try progressively to improve the living conditions of their citizens. Conventional wisdom had been that human rights were 'indivisible', meaning that respect for Civil and Political Rights should not be divorced from the enjoyment of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In between the two sets of Rights, there emerges the concept of development, regarded as a human aspiration separate from the achievement of human rights. This concept embodies at least 30 articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights specifying the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights so as to constitute the core of much of the world's development efforts.

INDIA - A LAND OF DIVERSITY

With a view to discrediting and exposing the NSCN (I) in its effort to become a member of UNPO, through its documentation, titled "Does Violence get a Mandate?", the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, made it explicitly clear that India is a country of vast multiplicity of religions, cultures and ethnic groups that are 'indigenous' to this land. Although almost the entire population of India is 'indigenous', it has been extremely tolerant of even the small minority of such groups as Parsis or Jews. Heterogeneity of Indian people with eight major religions, sixteen major languages and h of dialects and major racial groups, such as, Aryans, Mongoloids, Australoids etc., have added to the rich socio-cultural tapestry of Indian society. After attainment of independence in 1947, the people of India adopted the system of parliamentary democracy based on Universal Adult Franchise. The Constitution of India provides for a federal structure with a view to meeting the aspirations of diverse groups and cultures. Another highlight of the provision is of fundamental rights including Rights to equality, Right to freedom, Right to freedom of Religion, Right against Exploitation, Cultural and Educational Rights and Right to Constitutional Remedies. These Rights are "inalienable" in nature and cannot be superseded by the State under any circumstances and are justifiable as well.

IN CONTRAST-TERRORISM AS POLICY INSTRUMENT OF NSCN (I)

Based on such premise, the Ministry of Home Affairs alleged that NSCN (I) was indeed the very anti-thesis of the values cherished by the Constitution of India was evident from the facts supplied by documents, independent newspaper clippings, photographs, etc., and gave some press clippings to show unlawful demands imposed by NSCN (I) on all classes of businessmen and professionals. Thus, quoting an extract from Command Report of Lt. Col. Stone of the outfit on 'Operation Tragapan' the documentation said,

> "On the 22 February 1992, we planned to capture the Aghunato Sub-Treasury by means of ambush, which was being successfully done on 9 March 1992 and captured Rs. 44,40,000/- (forty-four lakhs forty thousand) only, 7 (seven 303 rifles) and 1(one) LMG."

The above-mentioned documentation further alleged that the main object of the NSCN (I) was to bring about the over-throw of the democratically elected popular and representative provincial Government of Nagaland through violent means. The NSCN (I) does not reject terrorism violence as an instrument of policy. In fact, violence, terror, exclusive reliance on arms and other means of coercion and denial of democratic norms are the 'raisen de'tre' for its existence and continuance as a terrorist group.

The NSCN owes its inception in 1980 to the violent opposition of a small but powerful minority of a Myanmar based group of Naga insurgents who rejected the "Shillong Peace Accord" signed by the Government of India and the representative of the Naga people in 1975. Since 1980, the NSCN has been carrying out a systematic campaign of killings, attacks on elected representatives, legislators, newspapermen and other civilians who do not subscribe to their ideology of terror.

Even on the ideological plane and faith in democratic norms, the NSCN (I) rejects the use of peaceful means and negotiated settlement for attainment of their objects or goals. In a document, titled, "Solemn Declaration of the Existence of the National Socialist Council

of Nagaland" dated 31 January 1980, which was issued under the signatures of Mr. Isak Chishi Swu and Mr. Th. Muivah, Chairman and General Secretary of the NSCN (I) respectively, it clearly stated,

"We rule out the illusion of saving Nagaland through peaceful means, it is arms and arms again that will save our nation and ensure freedom of the people"

LAWLESSNESS CLIMATE CREATED

Their lack of faith in democratic norms was also confirmed in their statement to the effect that –

> "we stand for the principle of people's supremacy, i.e., dictatorship of the people through National Socialist Council of Nagaland".

Toeing on this conviction, Mr. Muivah in an interview with a journalist, Mr. John Hamilton alias Bertil Lintner, author of a book, titled, 'Land of Jade' on 19 December, 1985, clearly declared "... to achieve it (their goal) we shall use any means that is expedient".

Thus, being fully convinced of 'Terrorism' as NSCN (I)'s instrument of policy, the documentation further stated that the outfit has been involved in large-scale extortion of money from all sections of society including shopkeepers, businessmen, professionals, teachers, etc. The outfit has often backed up its extortion letters by resorting to violence in case its demand for money was not met promptly by the victims. Such acts of lootings, extortions, crime, etc., created a climate of lawlessness, which is clearly reflected in a series of news reports of leading newspapers of Nagaland and Manipur in particular. One of the Newspapers of Nagaland in its issue on March 18, 1993 said,

> "All working groups in Nagaland have been classified into various categories — registered Contractors and Suppliers and employees (excepting Church workers) by the Government of the People's Republic of Nagaland, for the purpose of taxation, according to a joint release issued by the Chief of the Naga Army and the Convenor cum-Secretary, Finance Committee, GPRN.

"Saw Mill Owners shall pay tax as per verification of their earnings, while under 'Services Tax' Workshop/ factories/Petrol Pumps, etc., shall pay tax as per their earnings.

"Under entertainment tax, hotel and restaurant owners shall pay tax as per their earnings which will be verified"

The said news items appeared under the caption, 'GPRN (NSCN) levy taxes', as reported by NPN. Another news item also appeared under the caption, 'GPRN to levy taxes on all individuals" on March 17 as reported by TNB. These are few instances that make NSCN (I) accountable to the constant threat of life to the general public.

ARMS TO ACHIEVE OBJECTIVES

In order to achieve their objectives through violent means, the NSCN (I) has built up a formidable arsenal of weapons including AK-12, M-16, 6-3 rifles, LMG, Russian built RPG-7, Rocket Launchers, Granade Firing Rifles, 2 inch Mortar, Hand grenades, in addition to a large number of other assorted weapons and ammunitions. The outfit has acquired weapons mainly through three sources — (i) buying weapons clandestinely in the illegal armed bazaar abroad; (ii) getting weapons from Marco-terrorists (iii) by killing Police Officers and snatching their weapons.-

Some such sources are —

(i) A letter issued by SS. Lt. Col. Stone of the NSCN (I) addressed to the so-called Zesic Beto Bn. Of the NSCN (I) requesting for more arms;

(ii) Excerpt from the report of Lt. Col. Mark on 'Operation Goodwill' and

(iii) From the revelation made by Lt. Col. Mark to the effect that

"At least we located near Cox bazaar which we can freely move till today. After having done all such diplomatic relations we import some amount of arms and ammunitions from Thailand international

market, which we received on 23 December 1991 at Waichung Sea beach, brought by Lt. Ningkhan and Pte. Stanhope".

(iv) A large number of photographs taken at various locations of the NSCN (I) camps clearly establish that the outfit is in possession of a large arsenal of illegal arms and weapons. A photograph shows Mr. Muivah posing with a group of his armed followers thus effectively nailing the lie that the outfit is opposed to terrorism as means of 'achieving policy objectives".

VIOLENCE AS A CREED

The NSCN (I) has kept up an extremely high level of violence in Manipur and Nagaland during the period, 1992 and 1993. In Nagaland, in 1992, the NSCN (I) had committed 33 acts of violence resulting in the death of 42 persons including 22 police officers as against of which, in 1993, the outfit committed 72 violent crimes killing 73 persons including 28 police officers. During the period, the NSCN (I) has looted as many as 129 weapons from the slain policemen and civilians.

Similarly, the outfit was responsible for the killing of 25 persons in Manipur in 1992, while it was 130 persons in 95 violent incidents, which included such crimes as attacks on police, kidnapping and lootings on civilians in 1993.

The depredations committed by the outfit has created a tremendous sense of insecurity and fear among the peace loving civilians of Manipur and Nagaland, particularly among the Kukis as amply reflected in a number of editorials appearing in the leading daily newspapers in Nagaland and Manipur. Such human atrocities that infringed upon Human Rights appeared more acutely telling on innocent and defenceless civil-Kukis.

Despite vociferous claims regarding Human Rights at the International fora at home the NSCN (I) has been responsible for launching some of the most vicious violent and repulsive attacks against defenceless children, women of all ages, legislators, civilian government functionaries, editors, journalists, etc. Besides, the outfit routinely indulges in threatening public leaders and officials with a view to coercing them. It has also come to notice for summarily eliminating the civilians (mostly

Nagas) who do not subscribe to the ideology of the NSCN (I).

The ghastly acts of savagery of the NSCN (I) on even children under two years of age and totally defenceless and harmless women of Kuki tribes who were mercilessly slaughtered, butchered and burnt were still fresh in the minds of the people that could not be easily erased. Instances are galore. However, due to spatial problem, it may not be possible to append them in details.

NSCN (I) INTOLERANCE OF THE KUKI TRIBES AS EVIDENCED ON 13 BLACK SEPTEMBER 1993

Let alone, the flagrant violation of Human Rights. The said documentation of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, was vocal and outrageously alleged that "Nothing illustrates the intolerance and hostility of the NSCN (I) against members of the Kuki tribes inhabiting the four hill districts of Manipur and parts of Kohima District in Nagaland.

Kukis are a tribe inhabiting those very hill districts which are dominated by the Tangkhul Nagas who constitute the main support base of NSCN (I) who has been treating the Kukis as intruders and has, therefore, served a 'quit notice' on them (on 22/10/1992) in a number of villages in Senapati, Tamenglong, Chandel and Ukhrul districts of Manipur under the signature of R.K. Thekho, so-called President, United Naga Council (UNC). The NSCN (I) also organized trained and armed Vigilant Groups at village levels among the Tangkhuls, Mao and Zeliangrong Nagas since the beginning of the year, 1993. These Vigilant groups styled, as 'Naga Lim Guards (NLG) are being provided leadership, direction and weaponry by the NSCN (I).

The depredations of the NSCN (I) and NLG combine against the Kukis in Manipur since the beginning of 1993 has already led to the killing of as many as 242 Kukis and burning down of over 1,000 houses belonging to the Kukis. Such has been the viciousness of attacks by the NSCN (I) that the Kukis have been forced to abandon a large number of their villages. The onslaught of the NSCN (I) against the Kukis has already assumed the proportion of a wholesale "ethnic cleansing", the

use of such terminology has been banned by the UNO.

A list of targeted attacks carried out by the NSCN (I) or the NLG at the behest of the NSCN (I) against the Kukis is given below including the MASSACRE of children, women of all age-groups and defenceless menfolks that took place at Gelnel, Taloulong and Joupi villages located within the Senapati and Tamenglong Districts on the 13 September 1993, killing 103 persons altogether on the said BLACK SEPTEMBER DAY.

Violence against Kukis during 1993

Date	Place	Brief details
01.04.93	Tingkai Village, Senapati District.	15 NSCN (I) activists shot dead 8 Kukis and injured another after abducting them
04.04.93	Chatong, Kuki village.	NSCN (I) activists set on fire 10-12 houses of Ukhrul District Kukis in Chatong Kuki village (District Ukhrul). They also threatened the villagers to vacate the village immediately.
08.04.93	Loutel village, Ukhrul District.	NSCN (I) extremists killed four Kuki tribals in Loutel village, Ukhrul District.
09.04.93	Village Bongpa Khullen,P.S. Saikul, Senapati District.	A group of 10 NSCN(I) activists shot dead a man and a women, both Kukis, at village Bongpa-Khullen, Senapati District.
10.04.93	Thoubal Earthdam Village, PS Kangpokpi, Senapati.	Dead body of one person, a Kuki, of village was recovered from a Thoubal Earthdam, forest around Lamlai, Chatao (PS Kangpokpi) Senapati. The victim had earlier been kidnapped by NSCN-I extremists on April 7.
12.04.93	Village, Lungphang-	NSCN (I) activists abducted two

	malpi, Chandel	Kukis of Lungphangmalpi village. The whereabouts of the two victims are not yet known.
13.04.93	Village Lailong Khunou Chandel.	An encounter took place between NSCN (I) and KN activists near village Lailong Khunou (Dist. Chandel) resulting in the death of some villagers and injuries to others.
13.04.93	Village Laihoupokpi, Senapati.	Senapati Police recovered the dead bodies of three Kukis to have been killed by NSCN(I) activists from Laihoupokpi village, Senapati.
16.04.93	Peren Area, KMA District	NSCN (I) extremists kidnapped 4 Kukis. Two of them were released on the next day.
18.04.93	Chandel	An exchange of fire took place between some Kuki villagers and NSCN (I) activists resulting in injuries to one Kuki villager. NSCN (I) activists later abducted the chief of the village and his son.
18.04.93	Sita Kuki village, Chandel	NSCN (I) activists burnt down 21 out of the 85 houses of the village and shot dead 6 persons including a child. Another one was injured.
19.04.93	Bungli Kuki Village Chandel	NSCN (I) activists burnt down 41 houses of Bungli Kuki village of District Chandel, resulting in the death of 5 children and injuries to two others.
20.04.93	Imphal	Imphal police recovered dead bodies of 4 Kukis to have been killed by Nagas.

20.04.93	Village Keithelmanbi, Thoubal	Armed NSCN (I) activists set on fire a Kuki village, Keithelmanbi, Thoubal.
21.04.93	Mankang Kuki Village Chandel	Armed NSCN(I) activists set on fire 25 houses at Mankang Kuki village, Chandel District.
22.04.93	Lokehow, Chandel.	An exchange of fire took place between NSCN-I and KNA activists near Lokchow, Chandel District.
02.05.93	Near Kangchup Senapati District	NSCN-I activists set on fire about 20 houses in a Kuki village near Kangchup, Senapati District. In the incident, one infant was burnt alive. Four persons were reported to be missing.
09.05.93	Imphal	NSCN-II activists shot dead a retired Major (Kuki).
10.05.93	Village Guwaltabi, Ukhrul District	NSCN- I extremists set fire to some houses belonging to Kukis in Guwaltabi village, Ukhrul District.
10.05.93	Kuki Village of Chandel District	NSCN-I extremists burnt down some houses in two Kuki villages in Chandel District and warned the residents not to return.
13.05.93	Thamnapokpi Village, Imphal District	NSCN-I activists shot dead one Kuki at village Thamnapokpi, Imphal District.
13.05.93	Chandel	An encounter took place between NSCN-I and KNA extremists (Chandel District) without any casualties.)
17.05.93	Chandel	NSCN (I) activists abducted a

		Kuki and some Meitei and later, they shot dead the Kuki and injured a Meitei while releasing the others.
17.05.93	Chandel	NSCN (I) activists set on fire 19 houses in two Kuki villages in Chandel District.
23.05.93	Athibudng, Kohima District,	NSCN (I) extremists shot dead a Kuki leader in the Athibung area.
26.05.93	PS Saikul, Senapati.	NSCN (I) activists ambushed a jeep in which some Kukis were traveling in PS Saikul, Senapati District. There was no casualty.
26.05.93	PS Saikul, Senapati.	NSCN (I) activists set fire to 25 houses in a Kuki village in Senapati District. The dead body of a Kuki woman was also recovered from the same village.
02.06.93	Near Sugnu Thoubal District,	NSCN-I extremists shot dead one Kuki and kidnapped another person accompanying the deceased near Sugnu, Thoubal District.
05.06.93	Phanjang Kuki village.	NSCN (I) activists killed one Kuki and injured seven others in an attack on the Kohima District. They also set fire to 30 Kuki houses.
08.06.93	Senapati District.	NSCN(I) activists set fire to 44 houses in a Kuki village in Senapati District. Four persons were killed in the incident and four others including one Naga miscreant injured.

10.06.93	Ukhrul	NSCN(I) activists set fire to 17 houses in two Kuki villages of Ukhrul District.
14.06.93	Peren Sub-Divn, Kohima District	NSCN (I) activists burnt down 27 Kuki houses and killed 4 persons including a Kuki police constable in an attack on the Kuki village of Old Chalkot. Of the 5 injured one person succumbed to his injuries the next day. They took away 4 weapons.
17.06.93	Village Chaningtokpi Senapati District.	Naga miscreants set on fire 35 Kuki houses and shot at and injured five Kukis.
23.06.93	Khoikal Kuki village, Ukhrul District.	NSCN (I) activists set on fire Khoikai Kuki Village, Ukhrul District.
14.07.93	Near Chassad, Ukhrul District	Naga extremists abducted two Kukis from a passenger bus plying from Chassad (Ukhrul District) to Imphal. The dead body of one of the abducted Kukis was found in the nearby jungle on July 14.
06.08.93	Tingphal Khullen & Chon loi Khullen Senapati District,	A group of armed Naga miscean-ts belonging to the NSCN (I) and the Naga Lim Guard, attacked Kuki villages killing 16 Kukis and injuring 13 besides setting fire to around 50 houses.
06.08.93	Mulamphung Ukhrul District	The armed Nagas attacked another Kuki village, Mulamphung, Ukhrul District, killing 8 Kukis and injuring 6, approximately 40 houses were

		burnt in the attack.
08.08.93	Khalong, Senapati District,	Armed Naga miscreants attacked Kuki village at Khalong, killing 11 Kukis
16.08.93	Khongsang, Tamenglong District	Two Kukis were kidnapped from Khongsang area by NSCN(I) activists.
20.08.93	Village Tingjang Tamenglong District.	29 houses in village Tingjang were set on fire by NSCN (I) activists.
23.08.93	Lamkang Khunou PS Tengnoupal Chandel District.	Armed NSCN (I) (20/25) stopped a passenger bus at Lamkang Khunou on the MoreWImphal highway and shot dead 4 Kuki passengers. The bus was later set on fire by the assailants.
30.08.93.	Khongbung Village, Tamenglong District.	NSCN(I) activists 950) attacked Khongbung Kuki village and shot dead a3 Kukis and injured one child. 60 houses belonging to the Kukis were also burnt down in the attack.
30.08.93	Monglham Village, P.S. Saikul, Senapati District.	Nagas set fire some houses belonging to the Kukis in village Mongiham.
04.09.93	Symkhullen Naga Tamenglong	Militants set fire to about 40 deserted houses in village Symkhullen of Tamenglong
07.09.93	Tingkai Kuki, PS Khopung, Tamenglong	Naga extremists burnt down all houses belonging to Kukis in Tingkai village. No casualty reported so far.
9.09.93	Kekru Kuki, Tamenglong.	Naga miscreants set fire to 27 houses in Kekru Kuki village of Tamenglong

11.09.93	Joupi Kuki Village, Tamenglong	Naga extremists set fire to 35 houses of Kukis in Joupi village.
13.09.93	Gelnel Kuki Village, PS Kangpokpi,	Naga extremists attacked Gelnel Kuki village and set fire to 57 houses and killed 16 Kukis.
13.09.93	Near village Tamei,	87 dead bodies of Kukis (inhabitants of Tamenglong District, village Joupi and Janglenphai) were recovered by Security Forces/Police near Tamei killed by a group of Nagas belonging to Tamei and Lenglong villages armed with SBBL guns and daos. The Naga miscreants killed the men-folk sparing the women and children.
16.09.93	Nungba sub-division,	3 Kukis were killed in village Nongthut by Tamenglong Dist. Naga miscreants and 37 houses burnt down.
17.09.93	Village Songtun, Senapati District	Naga activists set fire to 25 houses belonging to the Kukis in village Songtun.
18.09.93	Dimapur.	NSCN(I) activists shot dead M.Hangsing (Kuki), Commissioner, Excise and Taxation, Govt. of Nagaland, at his residence in Dimapur.
19.09.93	Taloulong Village, Tamenglong District.	Armed NSCN activists set ablaze 35 houses belonging to the Kukis in the village Taloulong (Tamei sub-Divn.) following the incident, an encounter took place between personnel of Manipur Rifles and the NSCN (I) activists. No

		casualties reported.
21.09.93	Taloulong Village, Tamenglong District	Dead bodies of 13 Kuki children (all below 10 years of age) who had been killed by the Naga Lim Guard! NSCN(I) activists were recovered at village Taloulong. Out of the 13 Kuki children killed, 2 were burnt to death, while 11 bore incised wound injuries.
21.09.93	Village Boijang	Armed Naga activists burnt down 18 houses of and in village Boljang, 24 houses in Navoijang, and 28 houses in Hemjang (All Kuki villages Hemjang Sena. Dist. in Saikul Sub-Divn Senapati District.
21.09.93	Village Lason, Haijol	Naga Lim Guard/ NSCN (I) activists attacked & Laloi, Senapati three Kuki villages namely Lason, Haijol and Laloi (all in District Senapati) and burnt down the entire village.
27.09.93	Thingphai Kuki Village, PS Loktak Churachandpur	A joint group of armed NSCN (I) and the Naga Lim Guard volunteers set fire to 60 houses of Thingphai Kuki village. Later, and exchange of fire ensued between the Nagas and the Kukis during which one villager sustained bullet injuries.
29.09.93	Chongthel Village, Senapati District.	According to initial information available, Naga activists attacked a Kuki village, Chongthel (Senapati pistrict) which resulted in the killing of 10 Kukis.

29.09.93	Thanglongpu Kuki Village, PS Kangpokpi, Senapati District	Naga miscreants attacked Thanglongpu Kuki village, and killed 3 Kukis, including 1 woman and 2 children. 13 houses were also burnt down.
29.09.93	Ekau Bazar, PS Saikul, Senapati Dist.	Naga miscreants raided Ekou Bazar and set ablaze 8 houses belonging to the Kukis. No casualties..
02.10.93	Village Thangbu PS Kangpokpi, Senapati	Naga miscreants burnt down 13 houses belonging to the Kukis in village Thangbu, District PS Kangpokpi, Senapati District.
24.10.93	Kohima District.	NSCN (I) activists set on fire Lilen Kuki village. Two persons were burnt alive. Around 150 houses were gutted.
14.06.96	Jiribam, Imphal Dist.	Two Kuki youth were arrested and killed in Jiribam.

ETHNIC CLEANSING CLIMAX OF THE KUKIS BY THE NSCN (I)

A. THE BLACK SEPTEMBER

The 'ethnic cleansing' of the Kukis by the NSCN(I) saw one of its worst manifestations on 13 September 1993, when a group of approximately 90 unnarmed Kukis were intercepted by a combined group of NSCN(I) and NLG near Tamei Village in the Tamenglong District of Manipur and were later butchered in cold-blood after tying their hands.

B. HEART RENDING AND GRUESOME INCIDENT

However, the most heart-rending and gruesome incident took place at Taloulong Village in Tamenglong District of Manipur on the 19 September 1993, when NSCN(I) and NLG activists swooped down on

Taloulong Village forcing the adults of the Village to flee leaving small children behind. Thereafter, the NSCN (I) activists systematically hacked 13 children to death. All children were under the age of ten. As per some reliable eyewitnesses' account, the outfit activists made fun of the children. They were thrown up in the air and while in the air the children were made targets of sports competition by shooting them. Some children were butchered with sharp daos while thrown up in the air. Such ugly and beastly scene was lustily enjoyed praising the ones whoever could kill the children as best marksmen while tossing their bodies in the air. Painful with extreme agony must have been the scene to witness for a normal human being.

16

SAFEGUARDING OF IDENTITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MANIPUR

BACKGROUND

Identity and Territorial Integrity of Manipur have not ever been so beautifully depicted with lucidity than the popular lyric, which runs as

"Manipur Sana Leipak,
Chingna Koina Pan Saba,
Haona Koina Pan Ngakpa."

Herein contains the identity and territorial integrity of Manipur in a nutshell that exists from time immemorial with finality.

Having been so formed by nature, the amphitheatre-like shape of Manipur, comprising of a centrally located valley being surrounded by hill ranges, is unique and inseparably a replica of two sides of a coin. This natural gift to Manipur transcends human perception of identity and territorial integrity in commensurate expression of which is given as 'Chingna Koina Pan Saba'.

Manipur, the golden land, is the epitome of variegated ethnicity where plural society exists with the people embracing great religious faiths of the world. The Meitei Hindus and Muslims who inhabit the

centrally located alluvial valley preponderate their autochthones brethren, broadly known as Kukis and Nagas, who make their abode in the surrounding hills, constitute the ethnic mosaic of Manipur. Hence, the obvious lyrical flow of "Haona Koina Pan Ngakpa" is the natural expression of reference.

HYPOTHESIS

Why does, then, the question of identity and territorial integrity of Manipur arise? Has nature which has so generously been kind to us to inherit 'the golden land' of late been found cruel to us to continue to live in peace and solidarity and reap the fruits thereof in abundance of its gift? Or, have the brethren living in the valley of Manipur failed to play role of the 'big brother' that incurred displeasure of the 'small brethren' who live in the hills as 'guardians of the golden land'?

These are few hypotheses, which may be addressed to set the spectrum of speculative and fluid situation at rest.

ETHNICITY AS GROWING REALITY

While none of the above postulates may be termed as direct attributes to the vexed problems that are being deliberated upon, they may as well be not treated as chronic issues of Manipur in isolation. The issues are rather of ethnicity and question of Indian Nationalism.

Ethnic belts cut across international boundaries and administrative demarcations. In India, ethnic and tribal loyalties overlap international boundaries in its northeast region. The entire area is in turmoil with ethnic fervor. Concentration of Mongoloid origin in the region, approximately more than 20 millions, is largest in the Indian sub-continent. What is the motivation behind this upsurge among the ethnic groups needs to be properly assessed by the authorities, if the crisis thus brought about is to be contained. Such upswing in ethnic and racial self-consciousness is not confined to India. It is a global phenomenon, which demonstrates how powerful and long-lasting these ethnic ties are. They have outlasted a hundred military operations.

It is a fact that after the overthrow of the Iranian Shah, the Islamic regime of the Ayatollahs was challenged by none other than

minority ethnic groups of Kurdish and Arab tribesmen. The once tightly controlled country, the Super-power National, Soviet Union, was split into 'Small-Nation States' by the growing demands of ethnic minorities for equal rights. The insurgency-torn Myanmar due to ethnic minorities, the restlessness of war-wary 6, 00,000 ethnic minority of Chinese origin in Vietnam, etc., are where ethnic tragedies were at their heights. Yet, they are prone to raise their ugly heads again and again without ending despite extreme cruel crackdown.

ETHNICITY AND INDIAN NATIONALISM IN MANIPUR

In the northeast region of India, ethnicity is a growing reality. While it takes place at a low key revival, elsewhere it has already reached its explosive heights. Manipur is not an exception to such a situation and is infested with ethnic violence which must on no account be viewed in isolation from other growing ethnicities in the northeast region of India and the South-East Asian countries.

At a time when regionalism and ethnicity have assumed increasing importance the world over, situation as now being obtained in Manipur due to insurgency has become almost accepted way of life. Such a situation may be viewed from a perspective that the question of 'Indian Nationalism' and its definition should receive a new interpretation and impetus. The ground reality of the present situation in Manipur is not identity and territorial integrity of Manipur. It is due to growing consciousness of ethnicity and 'Indian Nationalism'.

As a matter of fact, I am convinced that every individual in Manipur could be Indian while being a Manipuri first and that there could be no direct Indian for every Indian. Therefore, the situation in Manipur should be understood as an expression to assert one's own Nationality which must by no means be attributed to being anti-Indian Nationalism. All Indians are Indians only indirectly. They are first their own linguistic personalities. Then and then only can they be Indians.

ANECDOTES ON IDENTITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MANIPUR

Creation of Nagaland and Mizoram took place after having curved out the erstwhile Naga Hills District and Lushai Hills District respectively of undivided Assam State on arriving accords known as Shillong Accord for Nagaland and Mizo Accord for Mizoram. In both the accords a clause each was provided wherein contiguous areas inhabited by the Nagas and the Mizos in the neighbouring States were to be merged to be under one administrative unit in their respective States which were named after their tribal appellations. Manipur is contiguous State of Nagaland.

There are Nagas predominantly in Ukhrul district, Senapati district and Tamenglong district in Manipur which are contiguous to Nagaland. Similarly, there are Mizos (Kukis) in Manipur contiguous to Mizoram. Thus, demand for merger of such areas is obvious on the part of Nagaland and Mizoram. It is equally obvious that such demand should be vehemently opposed by the people of Manipur.

The much publicized peace talks between the Central Government and the NSCN (IM) had naturally generated fear and apprehensions in the minds of the people as to the preservation of identity and territorial integrity of Manipur. The question of South Nagaland was added oil to the fuel.

Chief Minister of Manipur, Shri Rishang Keishing threw his weight behind the proposed peace talks between the Central Government and the NSCN (IM) and reiterated that the territorial integrity of Manipur would not be disturbed on August 1, 1997 as a result of the talks, that the talks were for bringing about an end to insurgency and violence and that the same was for the good of the people. He further stated that the talk about South Nagaland was baseless and that it was a canard picked up from some people in Nagaland and spread by some political parties in Manipur and that if such a question as to affect integrity of the State's territory arose the State Government had to be notified. The Central Government cannot do anything without informing the State Government and the people with regard to the territorial integrity of the State.

In the backdrop of this, there was a rally, the largest ever held in Manipur, with more than 50,000 strong marchers for safeguarding territorial integrity of Manipur on August 3, 1997 as organised by All Manipur United Clubs Organisation (AMUCO) and supported by almost entire people of Manipur. Similarly, a rally was organised on August 9, 1997 in New Delhi by Solidarity Committee on Territorial Integrity of Manipur in protest against the 'Ambiguous Stand' taken by the Centre and the State Government on the question of integrity of the State. On the other hand, Shri S.C. Jamir, Chief Minister of Nagaland expressed his skeptical view on the same day as the rally took place in Delhi to the effect that talks with only one group of underground outfit would simply provoke negative reaction than bringing about peace which would confound the problem further.

In contrast seemingly unconcerned as to the tension that was built up in the entire nook and corner of the State against possible disintegration of the territorial integrity of the State, Yambem Laba in his article in Imphal Free Press alleged that "The tragedy is that the many Professors and learned men with fancy Ph.D. Degrees warming their posteriors in Manipur University especially in the Department of Political Science seems to, by their silence, agreeing to the theory that "Manipur must break up" and further alleged that this view corroborated with the perception of some people close to Shri Rishang Keishing "who are architects of the two Nation theory that of Hills and Plains or the South Nagaland and Manipur for that matter".

AUGUST 6, 1997

It may be recalled that in view of tensed situation as a fallout of the peace talks expected to take place, Shri Th. Chaoba Singh, M.P. Lok Sabha raised the issue in Parliament stating that "... there is a widespread public fear and apprehension (in) the minds of the people of Manipur that it would result in the disintegration of Manipur" and demanded that "It is necessary for the Hon'ble Prime Minister to assure the people of Manipur through the august House that the existing territorial integrity of the State of Manipur will not be disturbed under circumstances either while negotiating with any underground outfit or any other organisation".

Shri Singh further stated that recent claim made by the Home Secretary of NSCN (IM) for inclusion of Karbi Anglong in Assam and the hilt areas of Arunachal Pradesh and Manipur into Nagaland had further aggravated the situation and added that "State Assembly had unanimously resolved to preserve territorial integrity of Manipur" and that "... further division or fragmentation of already small States of northeastern region would not be desirable" which might be counterproductive. Narrating political development since 1891 as to how Manipur became part of India, Shri Singh recalled the assurance given by Smt. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India to Manipur Pradesh Congress Committee to the effect that

> "You may rest assured that while India's security as a whole will continue to be our paramount concern, the interest of Manipur will not be subordinated to the interest of any other parts of the country".

AUGUST 14, 1997

As consequence to this, the Home Minister, Indrajit Gupta, in his efforts to dispel apprehensions in the minds of the people of Manipur stated categorically that the Centre would oppose any threat from any quarter to the territorial integrity of Manipur and asked the Chief Minister of Manipur, Shri Rishang Keishing and the Information Minister, Dr. L. Chandramani Singh, to do the same. In continuation, the Home Minister reacted to a news item and vehemently asserted that "the Centre has not accepted in principle or otherwise to unify Naga inhabited areas of Nagaland's neighbouring States under a single administrative unit" as allegedly claimed by Issac Swu. "As a matter of fact, there has been no discussion with Issac Swu or with any one else on this issue. There is no question of Government of India taking any step, which would affect the territorial integrity of Manipur. You may, therefore, take necessary steps to dispel any apprehensions which might have been caused as a result of the news item". This was forwarded to the Chief Minister of Manipur by the Home Secretary, Shri K. Padmanabhaiah, Government of India, vide his letter No.G-44971HS/97 dated August 18, 1997.

AUGUST 21, 1997

Not being satisfied, the people of Manipur demanded that such assurance would be accepted from none other than the Prime Minister of India and therefore sent a team of delegates led by the Chief Minister of Manipur himself to meet the Prime Minister of India, Shri I. K. Gujral, whom they met on August 21, 1997 at 4 p.m. gave the assurance that the territorial integrity of Manipur must on no account be disturbed because of talks between the Central Government and the NSCN (IM). The delegation also met the Home Minister and the President of India, Shri K. R. Narayanan.

AUGUST 24, 1997

This was soon followed by a press interview of the Chief Minister of Manipur, Shri Keishing he wanted to see Manipur remained unified. This was sharply reacted by the United Naga Council (UNC) who served ultimate to the Chief Minister, Ministers, MLAs and M.P. belonging to Naga tribes in Manipur which was rejected on August 26, 1997 by the Naga leaders concerned.

NAGAS NEVER WANT TO LIVE APART FROM MEITEIS

In a joint interview in North-East Sun, September 1, 1997 issue, the Chairman, NSCN(IM), Issac Swu, said "from our side we are prepared to have any kind of understanding if India is prepared to understand us" and claimed, when asked regarding territorial integrity of Manipur, "As far as our understanding goes, we understand Meiteis and Nagas are brothers. And this is a historical fact. Our friends from the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) and KYKL led by Okendra understand it" and "that they will not go against the Nagas, because they know that the Nagas and Meiteis re brothers and should live peacefully"

However, Th. Muivah, General Secretary, NSCN (IM), was more outspoken and elaborated that he believed in the ethnic affinity of the Nagas and the Meiteis and "So we think one and cannot think otherwise. It is never the intention of the Nagas to live apart from the

Meiteis. No, never. We have lived together in the past. Today and tomorrow also we shall be together. Because we are one. If the Meiteis think they are really different and cannot go together with us or can't live together that will be their own creation". While castigating a section of Meiteis as 'communal', Muivah further said and asked, "Do you think Manipur could be held together with hatred or violence? No way. Look the Soviet Union, it broke up. Why? Not because of the fact that Americans were too strong. It broke up because of its internal contradictions. Because Russians wanted to impose too much on others. Disintegration took place only because of such internal contradictions. And the internal contradictions in Manipur are not created by the Nagas. The Nagas have their own clear-cut politics. The Meiteis wanted to be masters of Manipur. Well, that is outdated.

The Nagas will no longer accept anything of this kind. Let the Meiteis decide future if they think they are separate from others, we will not stop them. If the Meiteis think that they can decide their fate apart from us let them go ahead. But from our point of view we are one. We believe our future is one. Our future is bound. But if the Meiteis start saying Manipur is Manipur, Meitei is Meitei, then we cannot force them. Let them go their own way. Nagas cannot follow the Meiteis always. We will never treat them in different way because we are brothers and sisters. We love them".

This theory of blood brotherhood of the Meiteis and the Nagas as propounded by the top brass of NSCN (IM) may draw our attention to the Ritual History of Meitei Ancestors which claimed that Meiteis were originated from a common pool of three kin brothers, namely,

1. Tangkhul Sharam Pakhangba (origin of Ukhrul and valley tribes),
2. Nongada Lairel Pakhangba (wherefrom the lineage of present royal family of Manipur is believed to have been descended), and
3. Chothe Thangmai Pakhangba (wherefrom the Kukis were believed to have descended).

AUGUST 21, 1997

Not being satisfied, the people of Manipur demanded that such assurance would be accepted from none other than the Prime Minister of India and therefore sent a team of delegates led by the Chief Minister of Manipur himself to meet the Prime Minister of India, Shri I. K. Gujral, whom they met on August 21, 1997 at 4 p.m. gave the assurance that the territorial integrity of Manipur must on no account be disturbed because of talks between the Central Government and the NSCN (IM). The delegation also met the Home Minister and the President of India, Shri K. R. Narayanan.

AUGUST 24, 1997

This was soon followed by a press interview of the Chief Minister of Manipur, Shri Keishing he wanted to see Manipur remained unified. This was sharply reacted by the United Naga Council (UNC) who served ultimate to the Chief Minister, Ministers, MLAs and M.P. belonging to Naga tribes in Manipur which was rejected on August 26, 1997 by the Naga leaders concerned.

NAGAS NEVER WANT TO LIVE APART FROM MEITEIS

In a joint interview in North-East Sun, September 1, 1997 issue, the Chairman, NSCN(IM), Issac Swu, said "from our side we are prepared to have any kind of understanding if India is prepared to understand us" and claimed, when asked regarding territorial integrity of Manipur, "As far as our understanding goes, we understand Meiteis and Nagas are brothers. And this is a historical fact. Our friends from the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) and KYKL led by Okendra understand it" and "that they will not go against the Nagas, because they know that the Nagas and Meiteis re brothers and should live peacefully"

However, Th. Muivah, General Secretary, NSCN (IM), was more outspoken and elaborated that he believed in the ethnic affinity of the Nagas and the Meiteis and "So we think one and cannot think otherwise. It is never the intention of the Nagas to live apart from the

Meiteis. No, never. We have lived together in the past. Today and tomorrow also we shall be together. Because we are one. If the Meiteis think they are really different and cannot go together with us or can't live together that will be their own creation". While castigating a section of Meiteis as 'communal', Muivah further said and asked, "Do you think Manipur could be held together with hatred or violence? No way. Look the Soviet Union, it broke up. Why? Not because of the fact that Americans were too strong. It broke up because of its internal contradictions. Because Russians wanted to impose too much on others. Disintegration took place only because of such internal contradictions. And the internal contradictions in Manipur are not created by the Nagas. The Nagas have their own clear-cut politics. The Meiteis wanted to be masters of Manipur. Well, that is outdated.

The Nagas will no longer accept anything of this kind. Let the Meiteis decide future if they think they are separate from others, we will not stop them. If the Meiteis think that they can decide their fate apart from us let them go ahead. But from our point of view we are one. We believe our future is one. Our future is bound. But if the Meiteis start saying Manipur is Manipur, Meitei is Meitei, then we cannot force them. Let them go their own way. Nagas cannot follow the Meiteis always. We will never treat them in different way because we are brothers and sisters. We love them".

This theory of blood brotherhood of the Meiteis and the Nagas as propounded by the top brass of NSCN (IM) may draw our attention to the Ritual History of Meitei Ancestors which claimed that Meiteis were originated from a common pool of three kin brothers, namely,

1. Tangkhul Sharam Pakhangba (origin of Ukhrul and valley tribes),
2. Nongada Lairel Pakhangba (wherefrom the lineage of present royal family of Manipur is believed to have been descended), and
3. Chothe Thangmai Pakhangba (wherefrom the Kukis were believed to have descended).

This was as per authenticated document of Dr. P. Khuman Khomba, Advisor to His Highness, Maharajah of Manipur.

These anecdotes of political wits as expressed by politicians under a given situation might have ramifications of consequence and unpredictability that require serious analyses. We cannot accept or reject on their face values.

Be it as it may, now that the tension appears to have considerably receded. The authorities at the State and the Central levels have given their political commitments and as to the identity and territorial integrity of Manipur being not disturbed. It was also evident from the press interview of the leadership of NSCN (IM) that they toed the same line as the Government authorities did. Under the circumstances, the dust from the present impasse will soon settle.

CONCLUSION

All said and done! Yet, I am constrained to observe that there runs an undercurrent political maneuver, which cannot but pricks the perception of individual who takes the issue with seriousness. Can we claim to be really free from the apprehensions of the State's territorial integrity being saved and sound? Can we also lay confidence in ourselves that we have won the heart of our Naga brethren to remain with us from now and ever through thick and thin in Manipur?

Consider the press interview of the NSCN (IM) leadership particularly that of the General Secretary, Th. Muivah as given in the preceding paragraphs. There is an underlying meaning that what apparently is on its face value. The intrinsic value of the interview needs to be read between the lines without being overwhelmed and enthusiasm with the superficial flow and rhetoric of language.

Incidentally, here, it may not be out of place if we can recall that the NSCN (IM) called a bundh on September 27, 1997 from dawn to dusk throughout "Naga Country a day of self destruction and agony in memory of killing of Maj. General Shongsen Thungba and 42 others allegedly by the NNC/FGN factions at Noklak in Nagaland in 1980.

It is no small wonder that despite assurances given by the Governments of India and Manipur that integrity of the State's territory

would be preserved and the claim of the NSCN (IM) leadership that the Nagas are blood brothers with the Meiteis and that they love to live with the Meiteis together for "We love them" are very fresh in our minds, there appears still a strong undercurrent link and understanding between the Nagas of Manipur and the Nagas of Nagaland. According to the local dailies of September 28, 1997, the bundh must not ordinarily have any affect outside "Naga Country" whatsoever, hit normal life in the districts of Ukhrul, Senapati and Tamenglong in Manipur. The Naga brethren of Manipur must have momentarily forgotten that they are 'blood brother' of the Meiteis.

By this, do we understand that general Naga populace in Manipur are still all for greater Nagaland or South Nagaland in their heart of hearts though their leadership had publicly denounced the same dismissing such idea as being canard picked up by someone from Nagaland and politicized in Manipur.

There is no clarity on the subject matter of issue in the minds of our Naga brethren of Manipur. The superfluous claim on the surface that the territorial integrity of Manipur as being assured which is classic of the politicians needs to be watched with vigil. Political weapons in democracy, such as, referendum, plebiscite, etc., are instruments of tactical and evasive responsibility. Anything may flare up any time on the issue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Books: Authored and Edited

Andrew, Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, London, 1887.

Allott, Antony N. and Gordon R. Woodman, eds., *People's Law and State Law*, The Bellagio Papers, Dordrecht, Foris, 1985.

Barkataki, S. *Tribes of Assam,* National Book Trust, N. Delhi – 13, 1969

Becker, J.C., *Seymour's Customary Law in Southern Africa,* 5th Edition Juta, Cape Town, 1989 (5th Edition).

Benedict, Paul R, *A Conspectus*, Cambridge, London, 1972

Bennett, T.W., *Human Rights and African Customary Law under the South African Constitution*, Juta, Cape Town. 1995.

Bennett, T.W., *A Source of African Customary Law for Southern Africa*, Juta, Cape Town, 1991.

Betteille, Andre, *Caste: Old and New*, Delhi, 1969.

Bhattacharjee, J.B., *Cachar under British Rule in North East India,* Radiant Publishers 5-155, Kalkaji, New Delhi, 19, 1977

Bhattacharjee, J.B., *Social and Polity Formations in Pre-Colonial North East India,* Vikas Publishers, Delhi, 1991.

Bhowmick, P. K., *Some Aspects of Applied Anthropology,* Institute of Social Research, Lake Town, Calcutta. 1969

Bimal, Dev J. and Lahiri Dilip Kumar, *Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, Mittal Publications, 1857, Delhi, 1983.

BorpujariProblems of the Hill Tribes of North-East Frontier, 1873-1962, Vol.III, 1981.

Bose, J.K., *Glimpses of Tribal Life in North East India*, Institute of Social Research, Lake Town, Calcutta. 1980.

Bowles Gordon, T., *The People of Asia*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1984.

Bradly, Richard, *The Social Foundations of Pre-Historic Britain*, Harlow, London, 1984.

Brown, Radcliff, A.R., *African System of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford University, Press, London, New York, Toronto, 1950.

Brown, Radcliff, A.R., *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Cohen and West Ltd., London, 1964.

Burkitt, M. C., *Our Early Ancestors Cambridge*, London, 1929.

Canter, Richard, S., *Dispute Settlement in Zambia in Nadar and Todd*, London, 1980.

Carey, Bertram S., and Tuck, H.N., *The Chin Hills*, Aizawl, 1932.

Chakravarty,A.C., *British Relationship with the Hill tribes of North-East India (Assam) since 1858*, Calcutta, 1964.

Chakravorty, B.C., *British Relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam since 1858*, Firma K.L, Calcutta, 1964.

Chatterjee, N., *The Mizo Chief and his Administration*, Tribal Research Institute Aizawl, Mizoram, 1975.

Chatterjee, N., *Status of Women in Mizo Society*, Tribal Research Centre, Aizawl,1975.

Chatterjee, N., *Jawlbuk as Social Institution in the Mizo Society*, Tribal Research Centre, Aizawl, 1975.

Chatterjee, S.K., *Kirata Jana Kriti*, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1974

Chaudhury, P.C., *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam to the 12th Century A.D.*, Spectrum Publication, Guwahati, 1987.

Christoph Von Furer Haimendrof, *South Asian Societies*, Sterling Publisher Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1966.

Colin, Renfrew, *Beyond Subsistence Economy*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1974.

Crawford, G.C., *Handbook of Kuki Customs*, Directorate, PGT and STY, Manipur, 1984 (Reprint)

Dalton, T.E., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, New Delhi, 1972.

Davis, Kinsley, *Changing Concepts of Marriage and Family*, Havard Basker and Penkenfill, 1942.

Dey, J.K. and P.J. Dey, *A Brief Outline of Physical and Social Anthropology*, Indian Book Publishing House Company, Calcutta, 1968.

Evans Pritchard, E.E.,Raymond Firth, E.R. Leach, J.G. Peristian, John Layord, Max Gluckman, Mayor Fortes, Godfrey Lienhardt, *A Series of Broadcast Talks - Institution of Primitive Society,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1963.

Evans Pritchard, E.E., The Nuer, London, 1940

Enriqueze, CM, *A Burmese Arcade,* London, 1932.

Firth, Raymond, *Human Types*, Mentor Book, New York, 1985.

Frazer, J.G., Folklore in Old Testament, Vol. II, London, 1919.

Frazer, J.G., Totemism and Exogamy Vol. II, London, 1910.

Gangte T.S., *The Kukis of Manipur*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 1993.

Gillen and Gillen, *Cultural Sociology*, The MacMillan, Co., New York, 1950.

Ginsberg, Morris, *Reason and Unreason in Society*, Longman, Green and Co., London, 1947.

Glayer, Nathan, & Daniel P., *Ethnicity: theory and Experience*, 1975.

Ginzatuang, J., *History of the Zomi Family*, Tiddim, Burma, 1973.

Goswami, B.B., *The Mizo Unrest: A study of Politicisation of Culture*, Aalekh Publishers, M.I. Road, Jaipur, 1979.

Goulienthang, *A Short chronological Account of Mizos*, Lamka, 2001.

Green, Arnold, Sociology, Mc. Grow Hill Book Co., Inc. New York, 1956.

Griffiths, Anne, M.O., *In the Shadow of Marriage: Gender and Justice in an African Community*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997.

Gougin, T., *History of Zomi*, Churachandpur, Manipur, 1981.

Harvey, G.E., *History of Burma*, London, 1945.

Hmar Youth Association (HYO), Hmar Hnam Dan, Sinlung Society Publi-cation, C.C.Pur, 1990.

Holleman, J.F., *Shona Customary Law with reference to Kinship, Marriage – the family and the Estate*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town and New York, 1952.

Horton and Hunt, *Sociology*, Mc Graw Hill, New York,1968.

Hrangthiauva and Lalchhungnunga, *Mizo Chanchin*, Lalriana and Sons, Brara Bazaar, Aizawl, 1978.

Johnathan, Haas, *The Evolution of Pre Historic State*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1982.

Kabui Gangmumei, *History of Manipur; Vol I: Pre-Colonial Period*, National Publishing House, Delhi, 1991.

Kabui, Gangmumei, *Anal: A Transborder Tribe of Manipur*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1985.

Kamkhenthang, H., *The Paite, A Transborder Tribe of India and Burma*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1988.

Keivom, L, *Hmar Tolung: A study of Hmar History*, Imphal. 1990.

Khup-za-Go, *Chin Chronicles*, Churachandpur, 1988.

Kirch, Patrice, *The Evolution of the Polynesian Chiefdom*, Cambridge, California, 1984.

Kuanga, Rev., *The Role of Christianity in Socio-Economic Life of Mizos*, Aizawl, 1989.

Kusum and P.M. Bakshi, *Customary Law and justice in the Tribal Areas of Meghalaya*, The Indian Law Institute, New Delhi. 1982

Lalbiakthanga, *The Mizos: A study in Racial Personality*, United Publishers, Gauhati, 1978.

Laldena, *Hmar Folk Tales*, Scholar Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995.

Lalthangliana, B., *History of Mizos in Burma*, Zawlbuk Agencies, 1979.

Lehman, RK, *The Structure of Chin Society*, Urbana, 1963.

Lewin, Col. T.H., *Wild Races of North-Eastern India*, New Delhi, 1970.

Majumdar, D.N., *Races and Cultures of India*, Bombay, 1944.

Malinawski, Bronislaw, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*, Routledge, London, 1961.

Miller, R.A., *Sino-Tibetan: In trends in Linguistic*, Vol. 5, Sceneak Mouton and Co, The Hague, 1986.

Meerwarth, KM., *Andamanese, Nicobarese and Tribals of Assam*, New Delhi, 1919.

Misao, P.C., *History and Customs of the Thadou Kuki*, Imphal, 1970.

Palit, D.K., *The Sentinels of the North East*, Palit and Palit, Delhi. 1983.

Pandey, S.N., *Sources of the History of Manipur and Adjoining Areas*, National Publishing House, Delhi, 1985.

Parratt, Saroj Nalini, *The Religion of Manipur*, Firma KLM (Pvt) Ltd, Calcutta, 1980.

Parry, N.E., *The Lakhers*, Firma KLM (Pvt) Ltd., Calcutta, 1976 (Reprint).

Parry, N.E., *The Monograph of Lushai Customs and Ceremonies*, Firma KLM (Pvt) Ltd., Calcutta, 1976 (Reprint).

Ray, Animesh, *Mizoram Dynamics of Change*, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1958.

Ray, J., *History of Manipur*, Calcutta, 1958.

Reid, Seorgt., *Chin Lushai Land*, Aizawl, Mizoram,1893.

Reid, R., *The State of Assam and its Neighbouring Areas.*

Sanajaoba, Naorem, *Manipur Past and Present, Vol. I.*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1988.

Sangkima, *Essays on History of Mizos*, Spectrum Publications, Gauhati. 2004

Sangkima, *A Modern History of Mizoram,* Spectrum Publications, Gauhati. 2004.

Sarojini Devi, Kh., *British Political Agency in Manipur 1835-1947*, Linthoi Publication, Imphal, 2005

Shimmi, Ronald, J.L., *Comparative History of the Nagas*, 1998.

Sing Khaw Khai, *Zo People and their Culture*, Khampu Hatzaw, New Lamka, Churachandpur, 1995.

Singh, Ibobi, N., *The Manipur Administration (1709 – 1900),* Imphal, 1968.

Smith, Vincent A., *The Oxford History of India.*

Soppitt, C.A. , *A Short Account of Kuki-Lushai Tribals : An Outline Grammar*, Firma KLM Ltd., Calcuta, 1976 (Reprint).

Soppit, C.A., *Kuki-Lushai Tribe*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1893.

Sutherland, Woodward and Maxwell, R., *Introductory Sociology*, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, Bombay, 1961.

Thangtindal, *Ancient Polity of the Gangtes*, Lamka, 1988.

Tombi, M., *Cultural History of Kangleipak,* Imphal, 1975

Tylor, E.B., *Primitive Culture*, New York, 1874.

Vioglin and Vioglin, *World Languages appeared in different volumes of Anthropological Linguistics*, 1964-65.

Vumson, *Zo History*, Aizawl.

Westermarch, E, *The History of Human Marriage,* Vol. III, The

Appleton Book Company, New York. 1922.

Zamzachin, G., Paite Tanchin, *Rainbow's End*, Sanjenthong, Imphal. 1992.

Zawla, K., *Mizo Pipu*, Aizawl, 1976.

Zawla, K.,Mizo Pi Pute Leh Anthlahte Chanchin ,tr., *History of the Mizo Forefathers and their Descendants*, Aizawl, Mizoram, 1976.

B. Articles in Research Journals

Damant, G.H., *Notes on Manipur Grammar*, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.XLIV, 1875.

Stewart, R., *A Slight Notice of the Grammar of Thadous*, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIV, 1929.

Swamton, J.R., *Contribution to the Ethnology of the Haida,* American Museum of Natural History; Men-VIII, 1984.

Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1853.

C. Encyclopaedias & Dictionaries

*Encyclopaedia Americana,*1969.

Encyclopaedia Britanica, Vol. 13, Encyclopaedia Britanica India Pvt. Ltd., N. Delhi, 2005.

Encyclopaedia of Anthropology, 1976.

Cole, G.D.H., eds., *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, London,1954.

D. Public Documents

GoI, *Does Violence get a Mandate,* 1993.

Government of India, *Census of India 1981*, New Delhi.

Government of India, *Census of India*, 2001, New Delhi.

Government of Manipur, *Census Report of 1951,* Imphal, 1951.

Government of Manipur, *The Manipur Village Authorities (in the Hill Areas) Act, 1956. (8 of 1956) Extraordinary Gazette of Manipur,Not. No. 1/15/54 dt. 17/1/1956. 1967).*

Government of Manipur, *The Manipur Hill Areas (Acquisition of Chiefs, Rights Act 1967).*

GoI, *Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste (Amendment)Act, 2002 No. 10 of 2003 (G) Part-A, Manipur,* N.Delhi, 2003.

GoI, *Fourth Schedule Section 26(1) of the Amendments to the constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, Part IV of Manipur,* N. Delhi, 1950.

GoI, *Fourth Schedule Section 26(1) of the Amendments to the constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order 1950, Part XIV for Meghalaya as amended under Clause (b) of Section 2 of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971.*

GoI, *Fifth Schedule Section 26(2) of the Amendments to the constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Union Territories Orders 195 as amended under Clause (b) of Section 2 of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act, 1971, Part II - Mizoram.*

GoI, *Extra-ordinary Gazette of India Part II section I, dt. 16/12/56, No. 80 of 1956.*

GoI, *Revocation of passport, dt. 10/9/1961,* New Delhi, 1961.

Manipur Legislative Assembly, *Statement of Manipur, C.M. Md. Alimuddin 14/6/1972 in the Manipur State Legislative Assembly,* Imphal, 1971.

C.M., Manipur, *Policy Decision on Foreigner dt. 6 April, 1974,* Imphal, 1974.

Govt. of Assam, *Visit of Nehru to Kohima on 30/3/1 953* Kohima, 1953.

Government of Manipur, Secretariat: Education Department Orders No. 17/1/72-SE, dt. 22-3-1977.

———————————, Secretariat: Education Department Orders No. 17/1/72-SE, dt.3-1-1981.

———————————, Secretariat: Education Department Orders No. 17/1/72-SE, dt.12-5-1987.

Manipur Gazetteer 1963, Imphal, 1963.

Roy Burman, P.K. Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile of Hill Areas of North-East India, *Census of India*, 1961, 1970.

E. Historical Accounts & Archival Sources

Botham, A. W., C.I.E., ICS's letter No. 9242 P dated the 5 October, 1920, Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam addressed to the Secretary Foreign and Political Department to the Government of India.

Brown, R., *Statistical Account of Manipur*, 1873.

Cole, W.G.H., Colonel, Political Agent, Manipur, *Letter No. SC dated the 17 March, 1917 addressed to B.C. Allen, ICS., Special Officer, Government of Assam, Shillong.*

Davis, A.W., *Gazetteer of the North Lushai Hills*, Matero Company, Delhi, 1987 (Reprint).

Foreign and Political Proceedings 'A' June 1866 Nos. 37-39., ASR Bengal Government Papers, file No. 351 of 1856.

Frontier Work and Policy, 1870-72, Articles in *The Pioneer*, 22nd February 1872.

Gait, Edward Sir, *History of Assam*, Gauhati, 1981.

Grierson, G.A., *Linguistic Survey of India Tibeto-Burman Sub Family*, 1904.

Hardiman, Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States I & II.*

Heggins, J.C.'s *Letter* No. 705 MS. Dt. 24/25 Nov 1917 to the Chief Secretary, Govt. of Assam, Shillong.

Higgin J.C's *Letter No. 705 M.S. dt. 24/25-11-1917 to the Chief Secretary, Assam.*

Higgins, J.C's *Letter dated the 25th December, 1917 addressed to Cosgrave, W.A. Political Agent, Manipur.*

Higgins, J.C., ICS., Political Agent, Manipur, *Letter No. KPMI37/198 dated the 11 January, 1919 addressed to the Chief Secretary, Government of Assam.*

Hudson, T.C., *The Meitheis*, 1911.

Hudson, T.C., *The Naga Tribes of Manipur,* London, 1908.

H.W.G.Cole's *Letter* D.O. Ho. 5C to B.C. Allen, dt. 17-3-1917.

Johnstone, Maj. Gen., Sir, James, *Manipur and the Naga Hills*, New Delhi, 1971.

J. Nehru, *Speech Delivered in Shillong on 12 March 1959*, Shillong.

Judicial Proceedings, 1850, dt. 13.11.1850, No. 105, dt. 20.11.1850, Nos. 54-5, dt. 27.11.1850, Nos. 103-4.

*Letter No.4479-I.A. dt. Simla, 09-10-1919 from Maj. G.D. Ogilviie, Dy. Secy, GOI, F & Pol. Dept. to Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell, C.C. of Assam.*Mackenzie, A., *The North East Frontier of India*, 1884.

McCulloh, M. Colonel's *Memorandum* submitted to the Government on the Kukis dated the 18th July, 1861.

McCulloch, Maj. M., *Account of the Valley of Manipur*, New Delhi, 1959.

McCall, A.G., *The Lushai Hills District Cover*, Maranatha Printing Press, Aizawl. 1949.

Nicholas D. Beatson Bell, Sir, Chief Commissioner, Assam, *Proceedings of the Political Department, Delhi, No. 8856 dated the 27 September, 1920.*

Pemberton,RB., *Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India* , Calcutta, 1835.

Reid, Robert (Sir), *History of the Frontier Area Bordering on Assam, 1883 – 1941.*

Shakespear, J. Col., *History of Assam Rifles,* 1929.

Shakespeare, Lt., Col. J. *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, London, 1912.

Shaw, William, *Notes on the Thadou Kukis*, Government of Assam, Shillong, 1929.

F. Private Documents

UNC, *Quit Notice to Kukis in Manipur, dt.22.11.1992.*

AMSU, *Memorandum* submitted to Govt. of Manipur videNo.CM/20/GS.M/MR&LR 89, dt.19/9/89.

NPCC, *Bedrock of Naga Society*, 2000 Kohima.

Kabui, Gangmumei, *Genesis of the Ethnoses of Naga and Kuki-Chin*, Naga Students Federation.

Kuki National Assembly, North-East India, *Memorandum submitted to Pt Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Prime Minister of India, dated, 24/3/1960.

KNF, Manipur, *Aide Memoir Memo to Prime Minister of India, Atal Behari Vajpayee dt. 8/4/1998 of1998.*

Memorandum of Praja Santi Sabha, Imphal, dated December 17, 1949, submitted to His Highness, Maharaja of Manipur.

Reply of Maharaja of Manipur to the Governor of Manipur on September 18, 1949.

Resolution of the Congress Party, Manipur, passed on April 29, 1949.

Souvenir, Kut Festival1989, Imphal, 1989.

G. Conferences/Seminars Proceedings

R.K. Jhalajit Singh, "Politics and Administration in the North East Nehru Era" Paper presented in the *Seminar* organized by the Department of University and Higher Education, Government of Manipur, in connection with centenary celebration of Jawaharlal Nehru on the theme, NEHRU AND NORTH EAST INDIA, held on November 12-14, 1989, at Dhanamanjuri College of Science, Imphal.

Thanzauva, K., Theory of Zawlbuk : Towards a Tribal Theology, *proceedings of Mizo Theological Conference, The Mizo Perspective*, held at Eastern Theological College, Jorhat, Assam, 1989.

INDEX

A

Aimol, 8, 131, 161, 175, 188, 189

All Manipur United Clubs Organisation, 224

Anal, 40, 131, 157, 161-2, 166, 168, 171, 175-6, 181, 183, 187-9, 191, 233

Annee Sociologique, 11

Angami, 80-1, 91, 122-4, 131, 142, 144, 149, 157, 166, 181

Angoi, 19

Anglo-Kuki War, 55, 60, 63, 68, 77, 78, 99, 126, 128, 153

Anglo-Manipuri, 118, 150, 151

Annamese, 5, 27

Annimite, 4, 25

Any Kuki Tribes, 131, 191

Aryan, 5, 27, 204

Assam Rifles, 98, 152, 155, 239

Ao, 144, 157

Arakan, 118

Ahom Expedition, 152

Ardennes, 114

Alompra, 118

Ayuthia, 118

B

Burmese, 4, 5-6, 8, 25, 27, 38, 53. 117, 147, 149-50, 232

Board of Secondary Education Manipur, 165, 194

Beadon policy, 126

Becha, 16, 18, 20, 22

Buffer Kukis, 153

Black September Day, 210

Bodawpaya, 118

British paramountcy, 126

Belval, 15

C

CHIKIM, 2, 3, 158, 172, 192, 195-6, 198-200

Chinlung, 3, 61

Chindwin, 4, 5, 25, 61

Chin Hills, 1, 5, 7, 9, 14, 26, 38, 76, 96-7, 100, 103, 116, 152,

160, 168, 175, 189, 231
Chittagong Hill Tracts, 5, 7, 26-7, 149
Cognate groups, 15, 160-1, 164-5, 174-5, 178-9, 193
Chiru, 7, 40, 42, 68, 131-2, 157, 161, 171, 175, 187, 189
Chothe, 40, 68, 131, 175, 187-9, 227
Cachar, 5-7, 26-7, 47, 59, 61, 63, 122-4, 149-50, 230
Chung-Pathen, 12-14
Chongthu, 40-3, 46, 56, 65, 68-9
Chingakhamba Sana Chauba, 85, 87
Chongloi, 42, 48-9, 54, 56-7, 66, 68, 70, 74, 165, 179
Chieftainship, 37, 43, 107-10, 112, 114-6, 176, 191
Chinese, 3-5, 24-5, 27, 222
Challet, 57
Chonghao, 56-7
Chang Kanpoh, 33
Chomnu, 30
Central America, 114
Centripetal Force, 166, 180, 194
Chang Kut, 199, 201
Clan, 5, 7, 9, 16, 25, 41-5, 47-9, 57-62, 64, 66-7, 69-70, 74, 78, 82, 99, 116, 120-1, 150, 157, 162-4, 167-9, 171, 176-8, 183, 189-91, 207, 239
Chemkol, 15
Chukmas, 7
Carey and Tuck, 7, 162, 176-7
Col. J., 9, 189, 239
Central Africa, 114
Chitimeni, 114
Centrifugal force, 165, 180, 192, 194

D

Dao, 15-6, 85, 92, 149, 219
Doithu, 12, 32
Dacca, 119
Djuma, 114
Darbar, 56, 70, 152-3

E

Election Commission of India, 134
En Riang, 4, 25
Ethnic tension, 130, 132-3, 141
Ethnic Cleansing, 141, 209, 218
Ethnocentric, 156, 170

F

Fables, 1
FGN, 228
Forward Policy, 117-120

G

Gamhoise, 30

Gamlahlen, 31

Gamlah Vel, 33

Gamkao, 31

Gangte, 8, 15, 23, 40, 116, 131, 157, 167, 171, 182, 187-9, 202, 232, 235

Gaonbura, 108, 162, 176

Gensei, 56

Ginzatuang, J., 8, 232

Gopi, 16-7

Gan-lha-lhai, 17

Gopi-Tul, 17

Gougin, 8, 233

GPRN, 206, 207

Great Wall of China, 4, 24

Grierson, 27, 58-60, 63, 66, 132, 238

Gwite, 43-5, 68

H

Hangshing, 42, 48, 56-8, 66, 165, 167, 179

Hangmeng, 41-2, 68

Haolai, 43-6, 64, 68

Hausa, 108

Henry Keary, 76, 152

Herskovitch, 12, 23

Hongcha, 19

Hwang-Ho, 4

household-magic, 22

I

Incarnate entities, 30

Indian Army, 142

Indonesia, 114

Indo-Burma, 4

Irrawady, 4, 25

Inmunse, 30

J

Japan, 5, 114

Japanese, 5, 27

Japhal, 14

J.C. Higgins, 55, 60, 77

Jhumming cultivation, 107-8, 111-2, 115

Jiribam, 138-9, 218

Johnstone, 26, 38, 121, 129, 148-9, 155, 239

K

Kabui, 2, 89, 91, 131, 159, 161, 168, 170, 173, 175, 187-9, 233, 240

Kelki, 15

Khul, 3, 61, 63, 65, 69, 163, 177

Khongjai, 3, 40-1, 47, 53, 66, 69

Kachin, 4-5, 25

Khasis, 4, 25
Kuki-Chin, 4-5, 25, 161, 240
Karen, 4, 25, 114
KYKL, 226
Khaopi, 16
Khaokuol, 16
Kolbu, 33
Kanpoh, 33
National Assembly, 134-6, 240
Kuki National Front, 136, 145
Kom, 7-8, 40-1, 47, 68, 131, 157, 161, 171, 175, 187-9
Khawtlang, 7-8
Kaomei, 31
Kaosie, 31
Kimkhup, 56
Kiphawl, 56
Kuci, 26
Kipneh, 57
Kapjavum, 58
Kholmun, 14, 30
Kulsamnu, 30
Komrem, 168, 183
Kuki rising, 63
Kuki Rebellion, 45, 64, 151
Koirao, 68, 161, 175
Kharam, 131, 189
Kharif seasons, 112
Kuki language, 164-5, 179-80, 192-4
Kipgen, 42, 48, 50-1, 54, 56, 58-9, 61-2, 66-8, 82, 136, 165, 167, 179
Kuki Dialect, 164-5, 179
Khongjai, 151-3

L

Lolo, 4, 25
Lushai, 6-9, 27, 40, 59-62, 116, 121, 131, 150, 157, 171, 189, 230, 234-5, 239
Lushai Hills, 5, 26, 61, 109, 223, 238-9
Lalthangliana, 6, 9, 234
Lakhe, 6
Lutsong, 56
Lupheng, 68, 189
Lunkim, 62, 64, 69, 193
Lhunpao, 56
Lhotjim, 68
Lawmpi, 111
Lamhao, 42-3, 68, 189
Lal, 108-9, 155
Land use system, 108, 110-1, 114
Lingua-Franca, 59, 178, 194
Land Holding, 107
Laissez Faire, 117-8, 120
Lupho, 68, 189
Lord Hasting, 119
Land Problem, 130, 132-3, 136-7, 141

Lamkang, 161, 168, 171, 183, 215

M

Mao, 2, 131, 157, 159-60, 170, 173-4, 187, 209

Maharajah of Manipur, 54, 148-51, 153, 228

Major Indian Languages, 165

Manipur, 1-3, 5, 8, 22-3, 26-7, 36, 38-40, 44-5, 47-8, 53-240

Manipur Labour Corps, 83-4, 86-8

Manipuri, 8, 40, 53, 59-60, 66, 86, 89-90, 92-3, 118, 121, 127, 146-7, 150-1, 154-5, 222

Manipur Hill Areas, (Acquisition of Chiefs Rights) Act, 1967, 135

Manipur Land Revenue and Land Reforms (MLR & LR) Act, 1960, 135

Maram, 159, 174, 187

Massacre, 28, 81, 210

Mana, 155

Meitei, 2, 8, 22, 136, 142-3, 146-7, 154, 163, 169, 178, 194, 213, 220, 226-7, 229

Meitei-Lon, 2, 163

McCulloch, 3, 8, 40-1, 47-8, 52, 58, 61, 66-9, 132, 239

Merville, 23, 38

Military Operation, 76, 152, 221

Milpa, 114

Misao, 68, 234

Mongolian, 4, 24, 27, 182

Mizoram, 1, 8, 9, 61, 107, 111-2, 115-6, 160, 167, 175, 182, 189, 191, 223, 231, 234-7

Mon-Khmer, 4, 25

Mekong valley, 4, 25

Meitei Vaishnavite, 8

Murshidabad, 119

Muslim, 2, 8, 130, 169, 220

Monsang, 131, 161, 168, 171, 175, 183, 188, 191

Myanmar, 14, 107, 130, 149, 169, 172, 175, 192, 199, 205, 222

Muivah, 206, 208, 226-7

Muneepoor, 26

Moirang, 147

N

Nagamese, 2, 163, 178, 194

Naga, 2, 8, 27, 40, 80-2, 85-6, 91, 108, 112, 122-4, 127, 131-3, 136, 141-5, 149, 154, 157, 159-63, 165-71, 173-81, 183, 187, 191, 194, 205, 206, 209, 211, 213-18, 221, 223, 225-29, 235, 239-40

Naga Hills, 5, 26, 38, 50, 61, 76, 81-2, 85, 90-1, 94, 96-7, 122, 124, 129, 155, 160, 174, 223, 239

Naga Country, 228-9
North Cachar Hills, 5, 26, 59, 150
NSCN (I), 204-219
NLG, 209-10, 218
NSCN (IM), 141, 223, 225-29
Naga National Council, 141, 166, 181
Naga Sovereignty, 143
Nagaland Pradesh Congress Committee, 143
Naga Nationalism, 141, 157, 170-1
Naga Identity, 161, 175, 180
New Kuki, 7, 58, 63, 66, 78, 170, 189
Nake, 33
Nang, 33
Nehhen, 57
Nehkap, 57
Ningthip, 57
Ninglun, 57
Noimangpa, 30
North-East Frontier, 53, 82-4, 129, 231
Ngoilu, 68, 189
Ngailut, 68

P

Pale, 4, 25
Pathen, 19
Pawis, 74-5
Pa Lung, 4, 25
Pemberton, 26, 38, 147, 239
Phizo, 141-2, 149, 161, 166, 175, 181
Peoples Liberation Army, 226
Phuisap, 30
Phutngul, 57
PLA, 2, 226
Plasey, 118
Paite, 8, 40, 75, 131, 157, 160, 171, 175, 182, 187, 189, 233, 236
Pegu, 118
PREPAK, 2
Political Agent, 53, 55, 60, 68, 79, 86, 88, 127, 129, 138, 148-9, 155, 238
Primitive Culture, 23, 38, 235
Pyu-Burmese-Kachin, 4, 25

S

Sadar Hills, 57, 138
Sinlung, 233
Shih Hungti, 4, 24
Sawm, 71-75
South-East Asia, 4-5
Shan, 4, 25, 65, 238
Siamese, 4-5, 25, 27
Sri Lanka, 114
Suktes, 8

Shendus, 6, 150, 164, 178
Shaw, 3, 8, 15, 23, 38, 70, 129, 153, 155, 239
Shakespear, 7, 9, 59, 61-3, 66-7, 132, 152, 155, 157, 170-1, 189, 239
Sanamahi, 22
Sekon, 21-22
Satui-Poh, 19
Sapang, 20
Setui-Poh, 20
Sapi-Meat, 20
Singson, 16, 48, 50-1, 59, 66, 68, 70, 165, 179
Sisep, 14
Supernatural, 11-14, 28-30, 32, 37, 92
Shehvung, 56-57
Shonsit, 57
Sitlhou, 46-9, 59, 64, 66-8, 74, 165, 167, 179
Sylhet, 27, 61, 63, 149
Shingmeng, 41, 68
Social Contract Theory, 110
Sartage, 114
Siam, 118
Sumatra, 114
Sepoy Mutiny, 126
Simte, 40, 131, 157, 167, 171, 182, 188, 189

T

Tai-Chinese, 4
Talaing, 4, 25
Tangkhul, 2, 60, 81, 131, 157, 159, 163-4, 170, 173, 178, 187-8, 194, 209, 227
Taw Sien Kho, 5, 27
Turanean, 5, 27
Tibeto-Burman, 4, 7, 25, 27, 59, 238
Tibet, 3-4, 8, 25
Tripura, 1, 143, 149
Thailand, 4, 25, 114, 207
Thadou Language, 164-5, 178-80
Thal Favang, 200
Thai Thah (Thak) Lop, 199
Tamenglong, 70, 153, 187, 209-10, 215-18, 223, 229
Thadou Gal, 151
T. Sekhrie, 142
Thiempu, 12, 16, 30, 32, 34, 37
Tubul, 18
Tuithei, 21
Tylor, E.B., 23, 235
Then-Hon, 21
Thenhon-Na, 22
Tucha, 16-19, 21-2
Thangpi, 41, 43, 46, 68
Titou, 42, 68
Tennasserim, 118

Tarao, 131, 161, 189
Territorial Council, 133
Touthang, 42, 68, 165, 178, 189
Thimzin, 62, 69
Thangeo, 69, 189
Turks, 5, 27
Tengdop, 15
Thadou Kuki, 8, 10, 23, 38, 69, 129, 155, 159, 164-5, 174, 187, 190, 194, 234, 239
Thilhas, 14, 16
Tui Thilha, 33
Touhin, 42, 68
Thuomlhun, 68
Tamari, 114
Tezpur jail, 80, 93-4

U

Ukhrul, 54, 138, 153, 164, 188, 209-10, 212, 214, 223, 227, 229
Ukhrul dialect, 163, 178, 194
Um-buh, 15
United Naga Council, 141, 209, 226
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 203-4
UNO, 26, 81, 210
UNPO, 204
Upa, 55, 108-9

V

Vavom-Te-Nupa, 21
Vohpi Lu, 15
Vumjakhup, 58
Vunghel, 58

W

Wa, 4
Western China, 4, 24
Wilhelm Schmidt, 10
Witchcraft, 12, 22, 32
West Africa, 114
World War I, 152-3

Y

Yandaboo, 119, 147
Yangtze, 4, 25

Z

Zeliangrong, 168, 209
Zomi, 1, 8, 150, 158, 163, 172, 177, 192, 232, 233
Zomi Revolutionary Army, 1
Zou Gal, 151

●●●

About The Editors

Aheibam Koireng Singh (MA, Ph.D), Lecturer, Centre for Manipur Studies (CMS), Manipur University is a trained social scientist. He has earlier contributed articles and book chapters in various reputed journals and edited volumes. His recent authored and co-edited works, *Ethnicity and Inter Community Conflicts: A Case of Kuki-Naga in Manipur*, 2008; and *Problems of Ethnicity and Identity in Contemporary Manipur and Other Essays*, 2008 has been well received for its material source and analytical insight. His area of interest is Ethnicity, Conflict, Governance and Security related issues, etc.

Priyadarshni M. Gangte (MA, Ph.D, LLM) Lecturer in History, Damdei Christian College, Sadar Hills, Manipur contributed a number of highly acclaimed papers at the international, national, state level papers. She has also published many articles on ethnicity, historical, legal and other topics of national importance. Some of the important published works to her credit are *Untold History of Manipur* (2005). *Why must We be Mizo* (2006). *Anglo-Kuki War* 1917-1919 (2006). *Customary Laws of Meitei and Mizo Societies* (2008), *and Confidential Documents of Anglo-Kuki War*, 1917-1919, is also one of her forthcoming works.

Late Dr. T. S. Gangte & his Wife
Priyadarshni M. Gangte

MAXFORD

MAXFORD BOOKS

Sales office:.
4264/3, IInd Floor, Ansari Road,
Darya Ganj, New Delhi-2. Phone: 011-65156284.
Registered office:.
95 Medha Apartments, Mayur Vihar Phase I, DELHI - 91.
Phone: 011-22743537, E-mail : maxfordbooks@hotmail.com

Rs. 795.00

ISBN:978-81-8116-052-2

9 788181 160522